THE LETTERS OF KHWĀJA ʿUBAYD ALLĀH AḤRĀR AND HIS ASSOCIATES

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The Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies
of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan

THE LETTERS OF KHWĀJA ʻUBAYD ALLĀH AḤRĀR AND HIS ASSOCIATES

Persian text edited by ASOM URUNBAEV
English translation with notes by JO-ANN GROSS
Introductory essays by JO-ANN GROSS and ASOM URUNBAEV

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On the cover: Painting of Khwāja ʻUbayd Allāh Aḥrār from an 18th century Mughal manuscript, MS. 1974-617-010 (2). Copyright: The British Museum.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first learned of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, or *Al'bom Navoi* as it is known in Russian, in 1979 when I was an IREX and Fulbright-Hays fellow working on my doctoral dissertation at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. My dissertation focused on the perceptions of religious power and prestige of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, the charismatic and influential Naqshbandī shaykh of the late Timurid period. In the course of my research in 1979 I came across a reference to the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* in R.N. Nabiev's 1948 article on the political and economic life of fifteenth-century Mawarannahr, in which he made several references to the autograph-letters of Khwāja Aḥrār.[1] I was immediately intrigued by the possibility of reading them, especially since they were all written in his hand and directed to the Timurid court in Herat.

The world was much different in 1979. Uzbekistan was one of five Central Asian Soviet Republics. During my stay I enjoyed the warm hospitality and support of resident scholars at the Institute, and established professional ties and friendships that persist to this day. Among the scholars with whom I interacted was Asom Urunbaev. My interest in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* led me to his office, since he, I was told, was working on the manuscript for a number of years. At the time he was preparing to publish the 337 letters of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī that are included in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt.*[2]

I returned to Tashkent in the summer of 1994, three years after the Soviet Union came tumbling down and Uzbekistan had become independent. I was then beginning to work on a book on the social history of the Naqshbandīya in Timurid Central Asia, and I was more interested than ever in the correspondence of Khwāja Aḥrār. During my stay I reestablished contacts with old colleagues, including Asom Urunbaev, with whom I began a series of discussions on the *Majmū'a-yi murāsalāt.* It became clear to both of us that we should

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[1] R. Nabiev, "Iz istorii politiko-ekonomicheskoi zhizni Maverannakhra XV vv," in *Velikii Uzbekskii poet* (Tashkent, 1948), 25-49.

[2] Asom Urunbaev, *Pis'ma-avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz Al'boma Navoi* (Tashkent, 1982).

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develop a plan to work together to publish this extraordinary collection. I spent the 1995-96 academic year on sabbatical as a member of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study, which provided me with the luxury of full-time research and an intellectually stimulating environment in which to work. I am extremely grateful to the Institute for its support, and especially to Oleg Grabar for his hospitality and always insightful comments.

Our project took a turning point in 1997, when I received a two-year National Endowment for the Humanities Collaborative Research Grant that enabled us to begin the joint project in earnest. The grant initiated five years of shuttling back and forth to Tashkent, and a flurry of electronic exchanges and packages sent through personal couriers. Individual responsibilities in this joint project broke down in the following way. Asom Urunbaev, whose work on the album dates from 1965, was responsible for editing the Persian text, including the re-numeration of the autograph letters. He also made a Russian translation of the 257 letters with notes and prepared the Persian index. The introductory chapter of Asom Urunbaev's *Pis'ma-avtorafy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz Al'boma Navoi* forms the basis of the third introductory chapter. I produced the English translation of the letters (based on the Persian text and Asom Urunbaev's Russian translation), wrote the first and second introductory chapters, compiled notes, and composed the bibliography and the English indices. Over the course of our collaborative work my respect for Asom Urunabev, whose patience and meticulous scholarship have marked the progress of our work every step of the way, has only increased. His research and publications on the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* have brought international attention to the importance of this collection. I am grateful to him for trusting in the value of our joint endeavor, and for his constant support in bringing the project to fruition despite the challenges of working thousands of miles away from one another.

I wish to acknowledge the financial support of two IREX Short-Term Travel Grants in 1994 and 1995; a one-year appointment in 1995-96 as a member of the School of Historical Studies at The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey; a two-year National Endowment for the Humanities Collaborative Research Grant, 1997-99; and the generous support of yearly grants from The College of New Jersey for alternate assignment and minigrants to support my research, the preparation of the manuscript, and the cost

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of the dust jacket illustration. In the course of this five-year project numerous debts have been incurred. I must thank Dr. M. Khairullaev, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, for his support of the project and his willingness to provide the facsimile for publication. Devin DeWeese, editor of Brill's Inner Asian Library series, generously devoted his time to read the manuscript and offered abundant comments and suggestions. His research on the history of Central Asian Sufism has greatly influenced my views on the development of the Naqshbandīya, and I am grateful to him for his advice and expertise. I am indebted to Robert McChesney for his encouragement and for his careful review of the manuscript and many conversations about terminology and textual interpretation. Discussions with Maria Subtelny, especially concerning economic issues in the letters, contributed to my understanding of key concepts, as indicated in the notes; she kindly reviewed the manuscript and made many helpful comments. Numerous other people have assisted me in the course of working on this book, and have generously provided advice, photographs, manuscript notes, and maps, including Hamid Algar, Evrim Binbas, Khalid Yahya Blankinship, Michael Cook, Manouchehr Kasheff, Tom Little, and Wheeler Thackston. Over the years, my colleagues and friends at the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of History in Tashkent, in addition to Asom Urunbaev, Bakhtiyar Babajanov, Galiba Dzhuraeva, Akram Habibullaev, Elyor Karimov, Rozzia Galievna Mukminova, Diloram Iusupova, and others, have generously shared their research and offered their warm hospitality. Our research assistant, Dr. Mehrdad Izady was tireless in his review of the Persian and English text, and in his technical support in transferring the transcribed Persian text to the computer. I am also grateful to my department chairmen, John Karras and Daniel Crofts, whose tenures this project spanned, and who endured with understanding my absences in Central Asia and my multiple commitments. Patricia Radder of Brill Publishers has been of great help in bringing the final manuscript to press.

Finally, thanks are due my husband, Richard Batlan, who read and commented on the introductory chapters and who prepared the camera-ready copy, to my son, Gabriel Corens, and to my mother, Ruth Gross, all of whom provided their unremitting patience and moral support.

Jo-Ann Gross

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PREFACE

The publication of the present edition of the autograph-letters of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār comes to us from the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, a fifteenth-century collection of autograph-letters that is one of the pearls in the treasury of manuscripts of the al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies presently contains more than 70,000 Oriental manuscripts, 50,000 lithograph editions, and approximately 10,000 documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages. The publications of the Institute of Oriental Studies on the socioeconomic and political history, literature, and the history of science and culture of medieval Central Asia, and the editions of rare primary sources, annotated catalogues of Oriental manuscripts, and Central Asian diplomatic records are widely known in many scholarly centers of the world.

The collection of autograph-letters, the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, or the *Muraqqaᶜ-yi Navā'ī* (Al'bom Navoi), the name given by its compiler, consists of 594 letters of 16 authors who are members of the Naqshbandī Sufi order of Mawarannahr and Khurāsān, in which Khwāja Aḥrār played a dominant role. The letters are written in Persian and directed to the Herat court of the Timurids, most of which are addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, the great Uzbek poet and state figure, and also to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506) and several other important persons. The letters often touch upon spiritual, political, and socioeconomic questions concerning the Timurid state during the second half of the fifteenth century.

More than half of the letters in the collection belong to the famous poet-intellectual, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. Multiple editions of the letters of Jāmī have been published, beginning in Tashkent in 1982, and followed by Kabul in 1987, Dushanbe in 1989, and Tehran in 2000. With the exception of several letters, the letters of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār and his associates have not yet been published.

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It is gratifying to note that foreign scholars are playing an active role in the research of Uzbek scholars, expanding relationships with the scholarly centers of the world, which is fruitfully shown in this work. One such center is The College of New Jersey (USA). Asom Urunbaev, a leading scientific researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Doctor of Historical Science, jointly prepared the present publication of the autograph letters of Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār with Professor Jo-Ann Gross, a well known specialist on the history of Sufism. The publication of these letters will undoubtedly further enrich the study of the history of the Naqshbandī Sufi order and the political life of Timurid society.

The Directorship of the Institute of Oriental Studies thanks the Office of Academic Affairs of the College of New Jersey for its support of this joint research project, and also the Director of Brill Publishers, world renowned for its publication of Oriental texts and studies, for kindly agreeing to publish the present work.

Director of the al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan
M.M. Khairullaev
Tashkent, Uzbekistan

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FOREWORD

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* is a truly extraordinary source of social, political, spiritual, and economic history. The 257 letters that bear the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, his disciples, and his associates are remarkable physical artifacts of a dynamic process of exchange between Mawarannahr and Khurāsān in the late fifteenth-century. They stand apart from correspondence that has traditionally been copied into epistolary collections, since these letters were personally touched by their authors, carried by their bearers, received by officials of the Timurid court in Herat, and amazingly preserved in a single album for over five hundred years. Currently housed in the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tashkent, this volume makes available to students and scholars the complete translation and transcription of the text along with notes, introductory chapters, and a facsimile. Although we have tried to contextualize the letters with introductory essays and extensive notes, we do not intend this volume to be a thorough historical analysis of the letters; this will be left for subsequent studies. It is hoped, rather, that the letters and commentary will provoke new questions and discussions concerning the history of premodern Mawarannahr and Khurāsān and the role of the Naqshbandīya.

By the late fifteenth-century, the influence, fame, and prestige of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār were well known in Sufi communities and at courts in Mawarannahr, Khurāsān, India, Ottoman Turkey and Northwest China. Why did Khwāja Aḥrār loom so large in the minds of disciples, *sulṭāns*, court officials, intellectuals, ordinary townspeople, farmers, and scholars? For over twenty years I have been attempting to understand the political, economic, social, and religious dimensions of this question. Historical narratives leave evidence of the respect Khwāja Aḥrār engendered among the populace and the ruling class, endowment deeds provide ample information about the extent of his economic and philanthropic activities, and biographical sources leave us with a record of his sayings, behavior, relationships, and activities. However, his letters and those of his disciples and

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associates move beyond the more distant narrative form to personalized communication between individuals. They significantly add to our knowledge of Khwāja Aḥrār's activities and world view and greatly expand the scope of our knowledge about the most rudimentary aspects of social life, such as subsistence and travel, the more lofty politics of peacemaking and legitimacy among *sulṭāns*, and the spiritual practices and pious ideals of the shaykhs. Petitions, advice, and reportage characterize the content of the correspondence. As historical sources, they attest to the close relations between Khwāja Aḥrār and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506), Sulṭān-Aḥmad (ruler of Ḥiṣār, 1459-1494)), Sulṭān-Maḥmūd (ruler of Samarqand, 1468-1493)), ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, and other Naqshbandī shaykhs and court officials in Herat.

The letters in this collection should also be viewed as certificates of introduction for the bearers who carried their messages to the court. As such, they serve as attestations of the identity of both the bearer and the addressee. We have, for this reason, tried to retain terms of status and formulaic phrases, sometimes risking repetition for the sake of preserving the tone and social conventions of letter writing. As anyone who reads a few samples of Persian correspondence of the fifteenth century realizes, the prose are often difficult to decode, and they are often imbued with symbolic meaning. In my English translations I have tried to achieve the impossible balance between readability and being faithful to the Persian; any failure to do so is a shortcoming on my part.

Jo-Ann Gross
Titusville, N.J.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The letters of Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār and his associates encompass two major linguistic and cultural traditions of post-Mongol Central Asia and Iran, Arabo-Persian and Turko-Mongol. In addition, the political and historical environment in which the *Majmūʿa-yi murāsalāt* has existed in the modern period has left a legacy of Russian and Uzbek scholarship that is well represented in this volume. The multiple linguistic currents pose challenges to making the text both intelligible to English readers and useful to those specialists interested in a more precise rendition. For this reason, we have provided full diacritics for Arabo-Persian names and terms whenever possible. Foreign words not in common use in the English language have been italicized, such as *ḥākim* and *faqīr*. Common terms and names of dynasties have been Anglicized, such as madrasa, muezzin, and Timurid. Common place names have been Anglicized, such as Herat and Mawarannahr, with the exception of Samarkand, which has been transliterated as Samarqand.

In transliterating Persian we have generally followed the system used by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with a few modifications. The "و" is transliterated as "v" except for the combination "خوا," which is transliterated as "*khwā*" rather than "*khvā*," as in *khwāja*. The following equivalents have been changed:

ج j in place of dj
چ ch in place of č
ض ż in place of ḍ
ق q in place of ḳ

In transliterating the Cyrillic alphabet, I have modified the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* system as follows:

й i in place of y
ж zh in place of ž
ч ch in place of č
щ shch in place of shč
ы y in place of i
ю iu in place of yu
я ia in place of ya

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For Uzbek, I have followed Edward Allworth's Uzbek transliteration system, published in E. Allworth, *Nationalities of the Soviet East: Publications and Writing Systems* (New York/London, 1971), p. 378.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BN	*Bābur-Nāma*
EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition*
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
GAL(S)	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (& Supplement)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937-42 [Suppl.], 1943-49 [revised editions of vols. 1-3].
HS	*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Khwāndamīr (Tehran, 1333/1954-55)
HS Thackston	*Habibu's Siyar*, English trans. W. M. Thackton (Cambridge, 1994)
IVANRUz	Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan
IVANTa	Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Republic of Tajikistan
SVR	*Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*
TR	*Tarikh-i Rashidi, A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*, Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, ed. and English trans. W.M. Thackston (Harvard, 1996).

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Credits

Plates 10 and 11 are courtesy of T. Little.
Plate 9 is courtesy of D. Dwinell.
Plates 1-8 and 12 are by the co-author, J. Gross.

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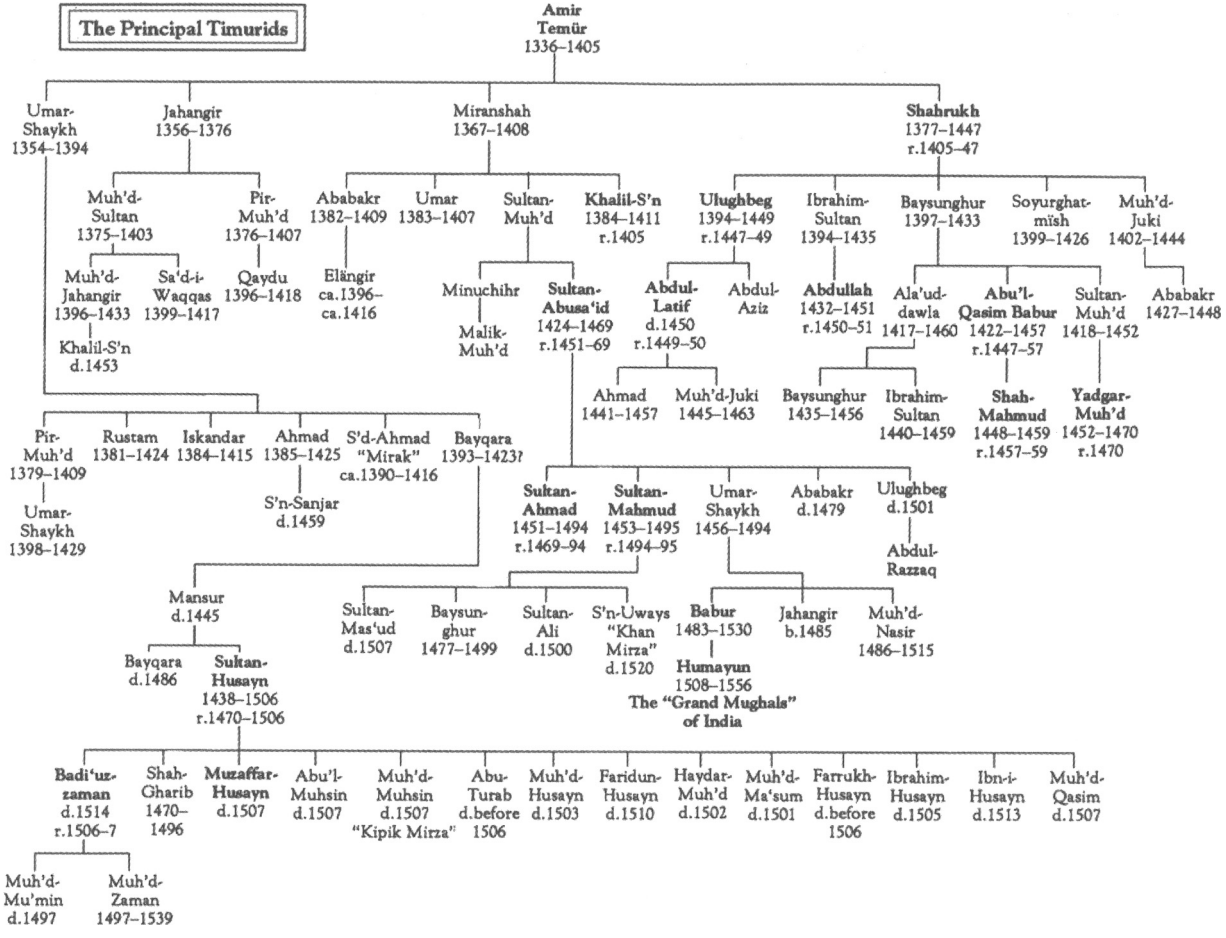

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

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CHAPTER ONE

THE NAQSHBANDĪYA AND KHWĀJA ʿUBAYD ALLĀH AḤRĀR

Historians of premodern Central Asia have come to regard Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, *pīr* of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa* in late fifteenth-century Samarqand, as a paradigm for the charismatic and influential Sufi shaykh. Khwāja Aḥrār's leadership marked a turning point in the history of Sufi communities in the eastern Islamic world in which the Naqshbandīya of Mawarannahr penetrated the socioeconomic and political fabric of Timurid society to an unprecedented degree. Sufis acquired great status, enjoyed remarkable benefits, and established networks of philanthropy and economic activity that continued up to the Soviet period.

The Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa* thus serves as a model for understanding the evolution of institutional Sufism in post-Mongol Iran and Central Asia. The success with which the Naqshbandī community underwent such a transformation must be understood in relationship to a number of developments in post-Mongol Khurāsān and Mawarannahr, particularly during the Timurid period, which include increased social activism on the part of shaykhs such as Khwāja Aḥrār; the organization of central *khānqāhs*; the firm adherence of the Naqshbandīya to the Sharīʿa; the establishment of close ties between Naqshbandī shaykhs and the state; the proliferation of *vaqf* endowments that provided a secure economic base to the religious class and its institutions; and a Turko-Mongol (Chingizid) legacy that resulted in a weakened central authority.[1]

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[1] Despite the persistent reaffirmation of Perso-Islamic culture and the Sharīʿa in the Timurid period (as opposed to the Yāsā of Chingiz Khan), the influence of steppe culture survived in real political (the Turkic *amīr*-id class, for example) as well as ideological terms. On the Turko-Mongol legacy and Chingizid legitimacy, see Bertold Spuler, "Central Asia in the Mongol and Timurid Periods," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (hereafter EIr), 172-176; Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan, eds., *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden, 1999), especially Peter Jackson, "From Ulus to Khanate: The Making of the Mongol States, c. 1220-1290," 12-38; Joseph Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Sociological Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46(1986):11-50; Martin Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory in the

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The description of the Timurid historian, Khwāndamīr, attests to the esteem and respect with which Khwāja Aḥrār was held by his contemporaries.

> Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah had the loftiest position and the most followers and property of all the shaykhs of Turkistan and grandees of Mawarannahr. In his youth he was trained by Mawlana Yaʿqub Charkhi and Mawlana Nizamuddin Khamosh and then began life as a dervish. In a short span of time the rays of divine grace had illuminated his auspicious interior and lit the lamp of sainthood. He guided those who were wandering in the desert of error, and he eradicated heresy with the *shariʿa*.
>
> Sultans of the age and mighty khans from the farthest reaches of Turkistan to the cities of Iraq and Azerbaijan became devotees, treasuring every word they heard from him.[2]

Prior to the 1980's, published scholarship on Khwāja Ahrār was confined mainly to Russian Orientalist and Soviet studies.[3] Aḥrār's prominent economic and political status was of interest to Russian scholars dating as far back as 1898, when V.L. Viatkin published a brief article on him in *Turkestanskie vedomosti*. Although the standard Soviet view of Khwāja Aḥrār is generally a negative one, it is possible to detect variations in the descriptions of Khwāja Aḥrār as a defender of the masses, a conservative rustic shaykh, a powerful economic figure, an exploiter and accomplice of feudal lords, a philanthropist, and a pacifist.[4] Chekhovich's prolific scholarship in economic history,

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Sixteenth Century," *Trudy XXV-ogo Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovekov* 3(1960):208-216; Beatrice Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1989) and "Tamerlane and the Symbols of Sovereignty," *Iranian Studies* 21,1-2(1988):105-122.

[2] The translation is that of W.M. Thackston. Khwāndamīr, *Habibu's Siyar* [hereafter HS Thackston], English trans.W.M. Thackston, tome 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1994), 410; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (hereafter HS), vol. 2 (Tehran, 1333/1954-1955), 109.

[3] For reviews of the Russian/Soviet studies, see Chekhovich, SD, 14-28 and A.N. Boldyrev, "Eshchë raz k voprosu o Khoja-Akhrare" (Returning to the Question of Khwāja Aḥrār), *Dukhovenstvo i politicheskaia zhizn' na blizhnem i srednem vostoke v period feodalizma* (Moscow, 1985), 47-63.

[4] The earliest discussions of Khwāja Aḥrār by Russian scholars such as V.L. Viatkin, N.E. Veselovski, and N.G. Mallitskii emphasized the beneficial influence that Khwāja Aḥrār exerted. V.L. Viatkin, "O Khodzha-Akhrara," *Turkestanskie vedomosti* (1898): 3; *Idem*, "Iz biografii Khodzha-Akhrara," *Turkestanskie vedomosti* (1904): 692-93; N. G. Mallitskii, "Izvestiia Tashkentskoi Gorodskoi Dumy," *Tashkent*, 1915. Until the 1980's, V.V. Barthold's work had the greatest influence on the

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with a specific focus on *vaqf* endowments, significantly advanced our knowledge of Khwāja Aḥrār's economic position. Her student, Z.A. Kutbaev, shed further light on the status of the Aḥrārī endowments in his dissertation on the nineteenth and early twentieth century documentary record.[5]

In 1984, Asom Urunbaev completed his doktorat on the *Majmūʿa-yi murāsalāt* (or Navā'ī Album), which included a discussion of the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār. Then in 1985 A.N. Boldyrev published his watershed article, "Returning to the Question of Khwāja Ahrar," which was a pronounced departure from the standard Soviet view of Khwāja Aḥrār and helped lead the way for Aḥrār's reappraisal as a historical figure. The article was based on a lecture delivered in 1982 in which Boldyrev stated that "the negative appraisal of Khwāja Aḥrār as an historical personality passes judgment without regard to many important facts and therefore cannot be declared valid and is in need of radical revision through a utilization of all the historical sources and facts."[6] The post-Soviet ideological climate has led to a more open scholarly inquiry into the history of the Naqshbandīya in Central Asia that includes questions of politics, culture, Sufi polemic, and social organization. The restoration of Sufi shrines in present-day Uzbekistan, and, in some cases, the renewed attention to lines of

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negative perceptions of Khwāja Aḥrār, both within Soviet circles and in the West. xHe characterized Khwāja Aḥrār as a conservative rustic shaykh and interpreted Abū Sāʿīd's reign as one that "ushered in the final triumph of darvishism over the opposite tendencies as represented by the hereditary Shaykh al-Islams...," *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, vol. 2, *Ulugh-Beg*. Trans. V. Minorsky and T. Minorsky (Leiden, 1963), 33-34. Two early views of Khwāja Aḥrār's economic and political role are P.P. Ivanov, *K istorii feodalnogo zemlevladeniia v srednei azii v 16-17 vv* (Moscow, 1954) and A. Iu. Iakubovski, "Cherty obshchestvennoi i kul'turnoi zhizni epokhi Alishera Navoi," in *Ali Sher Navoi - Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1946), 5-30. In the latter study, Iakubovskii depicts Khwāja Aḥrār as a wealthy and greedy landlord. See also R. Nabiev, "Iz istorii politiko-ekonomicheskoi zhizni Maverannakhra XV vv. (Zametki o Khodzha-Akhrare)" in *Velikii Uzbekskii Poet* (Tashkent, 1948).

[5] Zakir Abdurrakhman Kutbaev, "K istorii vakufnykh vladenii Khodzha Akhrara i ego potomkov," Akademiia Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, Institut Vostokovedniia, no. 579, Avtoreferat, Kand. diss. (Tashkent, 1970).

[6] "Eschë raz k voprosu o Khodzha-Akhrare" (Returning to the Question of Khwāja Aḥrār), *Dukhovenstvo i politicheskaia zhizn' na blizhnem i srednem vostoke v period feodalizma* (Moscow, 1985), 47-63. On Boldyrev's lecture, see Asom Urunbaev, Pis'ma-avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz "Al'boma Navoi" (Tashkent, 1984).

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descent, is an example of this renewed interest in the legacy of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa.*[7]

The field of Sufi studies has expanded in recent years, particularly in the study of doctrine and mystical practice, popular piety, the social construction of collective memory, and sainthood (although it is still relatively underdeveloped in comparison to scholarship on Christian sainthood). One of the most provocative studies to emerge in recent years is that of Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of The Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism.*[8] Cornell takes a revisionist, interdisciplinary approach to the study of Moroccan Sufism, employing methodologies of social history, narrative history, rhetorical studies, and historical anthropology. In doing so, he has written a work that not only redefines the understanding of sainthood as a socioreligious institution in Morocco, but provides a methodological model which, I would argue, provides a valuable tool for the study of Central Asian Sufism. Asserting that "living sainthood is a social phenomenon" that includes the remodeling of the collective and individual memory of sainthood over time (hagiography, narrative accounts, and the like), following Weinstein and Bells, he considers the saint in the context of two spheres—the Muslim populace and the inner circle of mystics and intellectuals.[9] For premodern Central Asian Sufism, and particularly for the study of the Khwajagān-Naqshbandīya, Cornell's

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[7] In 1993, a jubilee celebration was held to mark the 675th anniversary of the birth of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband. The shrine complex had been restored for the occasion, and new buildings, including a museum, were unveiled. The rehabilitation of the shrine of Aḥmad Yasavī in Turkestan (located in Kazakhstan) will soon be complete, and a new project has recently begun to restore the Jūybārī shrine complex of Chahār Bakr. Popular tracts on Sufi masters, their writings, and their shrines are now available in Uzbek and sold at kiosks and shrines. Among them are *Khajä* [sic] *Ährari Väli* (Samarqand, 1993) and *Khajä* [sic] *Ährar tärikhi* (Tashkent, 1993) by Baturhan Välikhojäev, a descendent of Khwāja Aḥrār, and *Väsiyätnämä,* Khäjä Äbdulkhäliq Gijduväniy (Tashkent, 1993). For a discussion of the renewal of Sufi communities in Uzbekistan, see Bakhtiyar Babajanov, "Le renouveau des communautés soufies en Ouzbékistan," *Boukhara la noble; Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 4-5(1998): 285-311.

[8] Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

[9] See Cornell's introduction, "Morocco and the Problem of Sainthood in Islamic Studies," xvii-xliv, and Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom,* 1000-1700 (Chicago and London, 1982), cited by Cornell, xxxii-xxxiii.

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methods offer valuable insight into the problems scholars face in unraveling the textual histories and the relationships between doctrine and practice.

The study of premodern Central Asian Sufism has grown considerably in the past two decades, particularly in the post-Soviet period, as access to manuscripts has eased somewhat and scholarly interchange has increased. The study of and interest in the Khwājagān-Naqshbandīya, and its various collateral lines, have resulted in a number of important publications.[10] Although still in its infancy, the field of Central Asian Sufi studies has developed along several lines. Close study of lesser known and/or understudied manuscript sources has resulted in a critique of hagiographical rhetoric and patterns of influence in the construction of Khwājagān-Naqshbandī history. A product of this work has been a reevaluation of the developmental history of the *ṭarīqa* that, up until recently, was based primarily on the well known (and published) sixteenth-century hagiography, the *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt*.[11] This research has brought to light new sources and has demonstrated how extensively writers

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[10] An international conference held in Sèvres, France in 1985 brought scholars together to discuss the historical development of the Naqshbandīya. The results of the conference were published in a 750 page volume entitled *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone, eds. (Istanbul/Paris: ISIS, 1990).

[11] This direction has been led by Devin DeWeese. For recent research, see Bakhtiyar Babajanov, "La naqshbandiyya sous les premiers Sheybanides," in *L'Héritage timouride: Iran-Asie -Inde XV-XVIII siècles*; *Cahiers d'Asia Centrale* 3-4 (Tashkent, 1996), 69-90; B. Babadjanov, "On the History of the Naqshbandīya Muǧaddidīya in Central Māwarā'annahr in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, Dmitriy Yermakov, eds. (Berlin, 1996), 385-413; B. Babajanov [Babadžanov], "Zahîr al-Dîn Muḥammad Mîrzâ Bâbur et les Shaykh Naqshbandī de Transoxiane," *Inde-Asie Centrale: Routes du commerce et des idées*; *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 1-2(1997):18-26; Devin DeWeese, "The *Mashā'ikh-i Turk* and the Khojagān: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi Traditions," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7(1996):180-207; D. DeWeese, "Khojagānī Origins and the Critique of Sufism: The Rhetoric of Communal Uniqueness in the *Manāqib* of ʿAlī ʿAzīzān Rāmītanī," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radkte (Leiden, 1999), 492-519; Jürgen Paul, "*Doctrine and Organization: The Khwājagān/Naqshbandīya in the First Generation After Bahā'uddin*," in Anor (Halle/Berlin, 1998):1-84; Florian Schwarz, *Unser Weg schliesst tausend Weg ein. Derwische und Gesellschaft im islamischen Mittelasien im. 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000); Wilferd Madelung, "Yūsuf al-Ḥamaḏānī and the Naqšbandiyya," *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi* 5-6(1987-88):499-509.

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of Sufi hagiography not only assert distinctive positions vis à vis rival groups, but also, fashion succeeding generations' historical understanding of Central Asian Sufi leaders and communities. Scholars of Central Asian Sufism no longer take for granted the ways in which specific writers portray the principles, ideals, practices, legacies, and rivalries of their communities in hagiographical sources. New research, moreover, has also focused on the mystical techniques, social organization, and economic and political influence of Khwajagānī and Naqshbandī communities and leaders.[12]

Hagiographical sources for the history of the Naqshbandīya are extraordinarily rich. The study of non-biographical sources such as correspondence, property endowments, purchase deeds, and other documentary evidence has also yielded new perspectives on the sociopolitical and economic roles of Sufis. Although still relatively understudied, especially outside the specific focus of the Naqshbandīya, we know more than ever before about Sufi networks of relations, the formation of dynastic shrine families, the administration of shrines, and the role of patronage and philanthropy in premodern Central Asia.[13]

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[12] For studies that focus on such issues, see Hamid Algar, "Political Aspects of Naqshbandi History," in *Naqshbandis*, 123-152; Bakhtiyar Babadjanov, "Politicheskaia deatel'nost' shaikhov Nakshbandiia v Maverannakhre." Avtoreferat kand. diss. (Tashkent, 1996); Michel Chodkiewicz, "Quelques aspects des techniques spirituelle dans la ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya," in *Naqshbandis*, 69-82; D. DeWeese, "The *Mashā'ikh-i Turk* and the Khojagan;" Jo-Ann Gross, "Naqshbandī Appeals to the Herat Court in the Late Timurid Period," in *Studies in Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*," ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington, 2001), 113-128; J. Gross, "Interpretations of *Bi-adab* Behavior in the Hagiographies of Khwaja Ahrar," in *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism,* ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, London, 1992), 159-172; J. Gross, "Khoja Ahrar: An Intepretative Approach to Understanding the Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaykh in Timurid Society," in *Naqshbandis,* 109-121; Robert McChesney, "Parsā'iyya," EI^2; Jürgen Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittlasien im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991); J. Paul, "Forming a Faction: The Ḥimāyat System of Khwaja Ahrar," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23(1992):533-548; *Idem, Doctrine and Organization: The Khwājagān/Naqshbandīya,* 1-84; Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya* (Istanbul: Beiruter Texte und Studien, 58, 1994); Florian Schwarz,*"Unser Weg schliesst tausend Wege ein."*

[13] See, for example, Jo-Ann Gross, "The *Waqf* of Khoja 'Ubayd Allah Ahrar in Nineteenth-Century Central Asia," 47-60; J. Gross, "The Economic Status of a Timurid Shaykh: A Matter of Conflict or Perception?" *Iranian Studies* 21, 1-2 (1988):84-104; Robert D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480-1889* (Princeton, 1991); Maria Subtelny, "A

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Although we are only beginning to unravel the complex developmental history of the Naqshbandīya, it is clear that Khwāja Aḥrār's ascendancy as the successor to Mawlānā Yaᶜqūb Charkhī in the fifteenth-century represents a shift in the nature of the master-disciple relationship, spiritual training, organizational structure, economic status, and regional and interregional contacts.[14] The Aḥrārī period may be described as one characterized by the well developed authority of shaykhs, more unified principles of doctrine and practice, a structured and centralized communal organization, political activism, and economic involvement on the part of Naqshbandī shaykhs.[15]

For the remainder of this chapter we will consider the main sources for the study of Khwāja Aḥrār, the Khwājagānī tradition, the early life and rise to prominence of Aḥrār and his political and economic roles, and the role of interregionalism in the late fifteenth-century Naqshbandīya.

Sources for the Study of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrar

Four hagiographies are accessible on the life of Khwāja Aḥrār. All of these were written within twenty years of his death in 1490. Sacred biography, written with the purpose of highlighting and legitimizing the piety, devotion, and exemplary behavior of the shaykh about whom it is written, by its very nature reflects the viewpoints, and often biases, of its authors and the societies of which they are a part. Despite these strictures, as many of the studies mentioned above demonstrate, the sayings by and about Khwāja Aḥrār, descriptions of events in which he took part and various personages with whom he

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Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlāṣiyya Complex of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī in 15th-Century Herat and its Environment," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111.1(1991):61; M. Subtelny, "The Making of Bukhārā-yi Sharīf: Scholars, Books and Libraries in Medieval Bukhara (The Library of Muḥammad Parsa)," in *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, 79-111; M. Subtelny, "The Logic of Shrine Management," in *The Transformation of the Timurid State: A Study of Fiscal Management and Agricultural Development in 15th-Century Iran* (forthcoming).

[14] See Paul, *Doctrine and Organization*. Following DeWeese's arguments, these developments emerge partly as a result of efforts to build a legitimate and distinctive Naqshbandī community.

[15] The Sufi legacy of Khwāja Aḥrār is significant; only one Central Asian Naqshbandī *silsila* line that can be traced in available sources past the early 16th century does not pass through him.

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had contacts and relations, construction of the *silsila*, and the details about doctrinal principles and practices offer a record without which it would be difficult to develop any understanding of the roles and perceptions of Khwāja Aḥrār and the communities with which he was associated. As mentioned above, the best known and only published source on the Naqshbandīya is the *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt* of Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, which was completed in 1503-04.[16] In addition to the *Rashaḥāt*, there are three hagiographies available in manuscript form. The earliest, the *Masmūʿāt*, (also known as the *Majālis-i ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār)*, was written by Khwāja Aḥrār's disciple and son-in-law, Mīr ʿAbd al-Avval Nīshāpūrī, author of 23 letters in the *Majmūʿa-yi murāsalāt.*[17] The second, the *Silsilat al-ʿārifīn,* was written by Burhān al-Dīn Samarqandī, also known as Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, the spiritual successor of Aḥrār.[18] The fourth hagiographical source, the

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[16] Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, son of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī, visited Khwāja Aḥrār twice in Samarqand, once in 889/1484 and once in 893/1488, *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt* (hereafter *Rashaḥāt*), ed. ʿAlī Aṣghar Muʿīnīyān. 2 vols. (Tehran, 1356/1977). In addition to the knowledge he gained through his own personal conversations with Khwāja Aḥrār and his disciples, Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī had at his disposal the insights and information gathered by the authors of two other hagiographies, Mīr ʿAbd al-Avval Nīshāpūrī (author of the *Masmūʿāt* as well as Khwāja Aḥrār's son-in-law) and Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī (author of the *Silsilat al-ʿārifīn*), Aḥrār's close companion and successor. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī cites both authors.

[17] Mīr ʿAbd al-Avval Nīshāpūrī, *Masmūʿāt.* MS India Office, D.P. 890, MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan 3735/II (hereafter IVANRUz).

[18] See Muḥammad Qāżī, *Silsilat al-ʿārifīn va tadhkirat al-ṣiddīqīn*, MS IVAN RUz No. 4452/I (hereafter *Silsilat)*. On Muḥammad Qāżī, see Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (hereafter TR), ed. and trans. W.M. Thackston, *Tarikh-i Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan* (Harvard University Press, 1996), Persian text, 103-04; English trans., 141-144; *Silsilat*, fol. 3a-b, 157a-b. Ḥaydar Dūghlāt writes, "He became His Holiness's confidant in all affairs, and His Holiness showed him such favor that the saint's companions and sons were jealous of him. Upset by this, he joined Mawlānā Muḥammad-Amīn, another of His Holiness's disciples, with the intention of going to Khurasan, since the two had agreed that they had learned His Holiness's method to an extent." After six months, his "inner calling for His Holiness was so overwhelming that we went back and joined his retinue." Ḥaydar Dūghlāt also writes that Muḥammad Qāżī was the spiritual advisor of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Khān, as well as the intermediary between Khwāja Aḥrār and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Khān (TR, English trans., 142-43). Prior to joining Khwāja Aḥrār, Mawlānā Qāżī was the disciple of the ʿIshqī shaykh Ilyās, which draws attention to the rivalries between the *mashā'ikh-i turk* and Naqshbandī Sufi circles in the fifteenth century. See Mawlānā Qāżī's own *Silsilat*, 156b-157a, 168b. Mawlānā Qāżī's stories are recounted in the *Rashaḥāt*, 628-30 and Mawlānā Shaykh, *Manāqib-i Aḥrār*, MS IVANRUz, 9730, fols. 105a-105b (hereafter *Manāqib*). For a discussion of such

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Manāqib-i Aḥrār, is believed to have been compiled by Mawlānā Shaykh, a disciple and one of Khwāja Ahrar's chief overseers.[19] Khwāja Aḥrār's treatises also provide further insight into the ideals and practices of the fifteenth-century Naqshbandīya as they developed under his leadership.[20]

O.D. Chekhovich's *Samarkandskie dokumenty,* a seminal work in the economic history of Central Asia, provides the documentary record of the Aḥrāri endowments in the region of Samarqand, Bukhara and Tashkent, and includes three *vaqf* deeds of Khwāja Aḥrār dating 1470, 1489, and 1490.[21] In addition, the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, the subject of this volume, includes 128 letters of Khwāja Aḥrār directed to the Herat court. As a personalized source of information, the letters offer a unique opportunity for the historian to discern and assess his priorities, values, and predilections, as will be later demonstrated.

Khwājagānī Origins

Khwājagān is the name commonly used to describe the proto-Naqshbandīya prior to the succession of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband

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rivalries, see Devin DeWeese, "The *Mashā'ikh-i Turk* and the Khojagān," 193-199; Paul, *Die politische*, 82-83; Schwarz, *Unser Weg schliesst tausend Wege ein*, 134-38.

[19] *Manāqib*. Although it is not certain that Mawlānā Shaykh himself completed this work, he is believed to have collected and compiled the information contained in it. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, who met him in Samarqand, describes him as having been entrusted with the responsibility of Khwāja Aḥrār's worldly affairs (*Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 618). Because of the author's position as overseer of Khwāja Aḥrār's affairs, he includes information about his economic affairs which is not found in other sources. In addition to the biographical sources, chronicle sources include references to Aḥrār and the Central Asian Naqshbandīya, although the references are typically related to historical events of political import. These sources include Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur, *Bābur-nāma* (hereafter BN), trans. Annette Susanah Beveridge (1922, reprint New Delhi, 1979), 41-42, 46, 62; HS, 82-84, 97, 109-110, for example; Masᶜūd b. ᶜUthmān Kūhistānī, *Tārīkh-i Abū'l Khayr Khānī*, MS IVANRUz no. 1512, fols. 239b-240b; Khwāndamīr [a continuation of his grandfather Mirkhwānd's work], *Rawżat al-ṣafāᶜ* (Tehran, 1960-61), 790-97, 844-845; Kamal al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭlaᶜ-i saᶜdayn va majmaᶜ al-baḥrayn,* ed. Muḥammad Shafīᶜ, II/2-3 (Lahore, 1368/1949), 1038-39, 1122-27, 1267-76.

[20] See Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, *Faqrāt*, lithograph ed. (Tashkent, 1328/1910) and MS London, India Office, Ethé 1919/III, fols. 21a-89a; *Risāla-yi dhikr*, MS IVANRUz 5460; *Risāla-yi vālidīya*, MS IVANRUz 526.

[21] SD, nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, pp. 72-84, 107-174, 236-262, 289-293. P.P. Ivanov's study on the Jūybārī shaykhs is an equally valuable source of economic history for the Jūybārī period (P.P. Ivanov, *Khoziaistvo Dzhuibarskikh Sheikhov,* Moscow, 1954).

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(d.1389), beginning with Ghijduvānī (d. ca. 1217), while the name Naqshbandīya is used to describe the successors of Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389).[22] The Aḥrārī line traces its lineage from Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī through Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389) through Mawlānā Yaᶜqūb Charkhī (d. ca. 1400) to Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 1490).[23]

Based on the work of DeWeese, Meier, and Paul, it is possible to conclude that the Khwājagānī period is distinguished by multiple and loosely interrelated local groups that do not articulate a common heritage or common practice, non-hereditary shaykhhood and multiple local Sufi leaders of equal status, a variety of stances regarding the practice and acceptance of silent or vocal *dhikr*, the practice of *khalvat*, or contemplative seclusion, the practice of *ṣuḥbat* (companionship), multiple or successive Sufi masters, and the lack of a centralized, communal, residential institution such as the *khānqah*.[24]

Although the silent *dhikr* is commonly accepted as the hallmark of Naqshbandī practice, DeWeese and Paul provide evidence that both silent and vocal practices existed, and, importantly, that conflicts over doctrinal and practical issues such as that of the *dhikr* increased as competition sharpened. Thus, the adoption of vocal or silent *dhikr* could serve as a means to legitimize and distinguish one group from another. [25]

The center of the Khwājagān under Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, the eponymous founder of the Naqshbandīya, was located in the region of Bukhara. Under the leadership of Khwāja Aḥrār, the center of the *ṭarīqa* moved to Samarqand in the mid-fifteenth century. In Herat the *ṭarīqa* took on a more elite character under ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī in the Timurid capital of Herat.

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[22] Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya*, 190-92. See also Hamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order," in *Naqshbandis*, 3-44. These brief remarks merely point to the broad outline of issues; an in-depth historical study of the Khwājagān and its relationships to developments in late fifteenth-century Central Asia, which reaches beyond the confines of this study, remains to be done.

[23] Two other branches develop from the other two *khalīfas* of Bahā' al-Dīn, ᶜAlā al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 802/1400) and Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420).

[24] During the time of Bahā' al-Dīn, Sufis gathered in a *jamā'at-khāna*, in contrast to the later *khānqah* (Paul, *Die politische*, 63).

[25] See DeWeese, "The *Mashā'ikh-i Turk* and the Khojagān" and "Khojagani Origins and the Critique of Sufism;" Paul, *Doctrine and Organization*; and Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya*.

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The Early Career of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

Born on Ramazān 806/March-April 1404 in the village of Bāghistān in the province of Tashkent, Khwāja Aḥrār claimed an ancestral connection with two important figures of Tashkent. His paternal ancestor (*jadd-i aᶜlā*), Khwāja Muḥammad al-Nāmī, was originally from Baghdad, although some say he was from Khwārazm. He is identified as one of the companions of the "learned and active master" (*shaykh-i ᶜālim-i ᶜāmil*), the Shafᶜite jurist, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl Qaffāl Shāshī, and his maternal lineage is traced through Shaykh Khāvand-i Ṭahūr.[26] There is little information provided in the sources about the childhood of Khwāja Aḥrār other than the early manifestations of his unusual spiritual qualities.[27]

At the age of twenty-two, Khwāja Aḥrār's maternal uncle, Khwāja Ibrāhīm, brought him to study at the madrasa in Samarqand.[28] However, Khwāja Aḥrār was more interested in pursuing his mystical pursuits and his uncle gave him permission to leave the madrasa for Herat.[29] He spent two years with the great *pīrs* in Mawarannahr and left for Herat, where he spent five years and kept company (*ṣuḥbat*) with the "shaykhs of the time" (*panj sāl dar Harāt bā mashā'ikh-i vaqt ṣuḥbat dāshta-and*).[30]

Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī writes that in the beginning of his spiritual journey Khwāja Aḥrār traveled to Samarqand, Bukhara and other places to see the great *aṣḥābs* of the Ḥażrat-i Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn and the great men of the Khwājagān, and he kept company (*ṣuḥbat*) with them. When he came to Samarqand from Tashkent at the age of twenty-two, with the consent of Mawlānā Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī, he entered the service of Mawlānā Niẓām al-Dīn. According to Fakhr

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[26] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 366, 370; *Silsilat*, fol. 37b; *Manāqib*, fol. 64a. Through Khāvand-i Ṭahūr Khwāja Aḥrār was also descended from the late 13th-century shaykh, ᶜUmar Bāghistānī. For the biography of Shaykh Khāvand-i Ṭahūr, see *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 370-373.

[27] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 391.

[28] Ibid., 404, 414.

[29] Ibid., 414.

[30] Ibid., 404, 414. *Ṣuḥbat* was regarded as one of the methods to become closer to God, and it was a practice that Khwāja Aḥrār emphasized in his writings. Paul also theorizes, "Perhaps it was Khwāja-yi Aḥrār (d. 1490) who insisted most on the efficiency of *ṣuḥbat* as a method which can be employed even without dhikr..." (Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya*, 34-35, 76-78).

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al-Dīn Kāshifī, Khwāja Aḥrār travelled to Bukhara from Samarqand, where he saw Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Mawlānā Ḥamīd al-Dīn Shāshī and also kept company (*ṣuḥbat*) with Khwāja ᶜAlā' al-Dīn Ghijduvānī. From there he went to Marv and then to Herat, where he stayed for four years.[31]

After his five years in Herat, Aḥrār went to study with Yaᶜqūb Charkhī. He went to Ḥiṣār by way of Balkh and Shaburghān, and while in Balkh kept company with Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Pārsā; from there he went to Chaghāniyān to make a *ziyārat* to the grave of Khwāja ᶜAlā' al-Dīn Aṭṭār. After that he came to Halghatū,[32] where he found Yaᶜqūb Charkhī and was initiated into the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa*.[33] After returning to Herat for about one year, spending a total of five years in Herat, he returned to Tashkent at the age of twenty-nine where he turned his attention to managing land (*be-mushghil-i dihqānat iqdām farmūda*).[34]

> He went into partnership with someone and began with a single plot of land of the size a pair of oxen could plough (*yak zawj āz ᶜavāmil*).[35] After that, the Almighty brought forth much bounty in his agriculture. Let it not be hidden that the wealth and property (*māl va manāl*) and estates and immovable properties (*żiyāᶜ va ᶜaqār*) and herds and flocks and cattle (*rama va gala va mawāshī*) and resources and possessions (*asbāb va amlāk*) of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān grew beyond bounds and measurement.[36]

In addition to his agricultural endeavors, Khwāja Aḥrār also began to establish a following of devotees in Tashkent. Some of his companions, most notably Mawlānā Qāżī, assisted him in his agricultural pursuits.

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[31] See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 414-416. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī reports that during this period Khwāja Aḥrār kept company with Ḥażrat-i Sayyid Qāsim Tabrīzī and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn ᶜUmar and from time to time with Ḥażrat-i Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī.

[32] Halghatū was situated near Ḥiṣār, the location of Yaᶜqūb Charkhī's gravesite. Charkhī died in the village of Halghatū in 851/1447. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 1, 116, 119; Hamid Algar, "Čarḵī," EIr.

[33] Ibid., 416.

[34] See *Rashaḥāt,* 416.

[35] See P.P. Ivanov on the usage of the term, "*yak zawj āz ᶜavamil*," *Khoziaistvo Dzhuibarskikh Sheikhov*, 10 and no. 4.

[36] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 404. One of the overseers may have been Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī's description should be understood not only in the context of Aḥrār's material success, but also as a statement retrospectively intended to demonstrate the success and legitimacy of the *ṭarīqa.*

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Evidently his success in agriculture and in acquiring a following caused animosity among some of the competing shaykhs.[37] Mawlānā Qażī, whose intention is as much to valorize his shaykh as to document his success, reports that,

> ... in the beginning of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān's appearance in Tashkent there were many shaykhs who provided guidance for the populace, and gradually they all became low and reduced to nothing because of the envy (*ḥasad*) and opposition (*ᶜināḍi*) they manifested toward the Ḥażrat-i Īshān.[38]

We read little more about Khwāja Aḥrār in the sources until his involvement with Abū Saᶜīd's successful bid for the sultanate in 1451 and Aḥrār's subsequent move to Samarqand in 1452. Khwāja Aḥrār's relocation is likely related to his reported role in providing spiritual support for Abū Saīd's success in defeating his adversary, Mīrzā Abdullāh, in 1451. According to ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, Khwāja Aḥrār prophesied Abū Sa'īd's success.

> At that time when he [Abū Saᶜīd] had not yet ascended the throne of kingship and was wandering around the countryside asking for the help and guidance of the rightly-guided ones, one day he received the honor of an audience with the Ḥażrat-i Khwāja Nāṣir al-Dīn ᶜUbayd Allāh. The Ḥażrat made sweet predictions and planted the thought of ruling the world in the mind of Mīrzā Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd. Mīrzā Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd always considered himself to be that Ḥażrat's agent, and if it were ever possible to do anything against his wishes, he still would not do it.[39]

Indeed, the turning point in Khwāja Aḥrār's career appears, with Abū Saᶜīd's encouragement, after his move to Samarqand. In Samarqand, where he remained until his death in 1490, Khwāja Aḥrār

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[37] Ibid., 543-544. Also see Jo-Ann Gross, "Authority and Miraculous Behavior: Reflections on *Karāmāt* Stories of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār," in *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London, 1992),159-172; Paul, *Die politische*, 79-84.

[38] See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 543-544.

[39] ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭlaᶜ-i saᶜdayn*,1062. For a more complete study of the biographical and historical variants on Khwāja Aḥrār's role in Abū Saᶜīd's succession, see Jo-Ann Gross, "Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh: Symbolic Statements of Political and Religious Authority," in *Naqshbandis*, 109-121. The more plausible material support for Abū Saᶜīd's bid for power came from the assistance of the Uzbek Abū'l Khayr Khān. See *Maṭlaᶜ-i saᶜdayn*, vol. 2, 987-988; Masᶜūd b. ᶜUthmān Kūhistānī, *Ta'rīkh-i Abū'l Khayr Khānī*, fols. 2316-2396; *Rashaḥāt*, 520.

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expanded his following, organized a *khānqah*, converted properties into *vaqf* and established his role as *mutavallī* and as a major player in the local economy, developed close relations with the Timurid court, advised Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd (1458-1469), Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506), and Sulṭān-Aḥmad (1468-1493), and mediated conflicts and established contacts outside of Mawarannahr.

Khwāja ᶜUdayd Allāh Aḥrār's Political Role

Political activism on the part of Naqshbandī shaykhs has come to be regarded, however overstated, as a Naqshbandī tradition, and Khwāja Aḥrār has come to represent the quintessential politically active Sufi shaykh.[40] Although there are many examples of political activism on the part of Sufi communities and leaders in Central Asia and throughout the Islamic world, Khwāja Aḥrār is the first of the Naqshbandī shaykhs to self-consciously assume a proactive role vis à vis the state.[41] Aḥrār's involvement in the political sphere has led a number of scholars to explore the doctrinal basis for his actions and to ask whether there is any evidence for a principle of political activism within Naqshbandī ideology and practice. The question of the relationship between Naqshbandī devotional ideas and practice and the political and economic activities of Naqshbandī shaykhs and disciples is a fundamental

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[40] In contrast, LeGall describes a more limited political involvement on the part of the Ottoman Naqshbandīya, which she concludes is a reflection of its bureaucratized legal, educational, and religious structure and its emphasis on limiting the development of independent power bases. See Dina LeGall, "Political Instrumentality, Political Activism: Stories of the Early Ottoman Naqshbandiyya," Unpublished paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the Society for Iranian Studies, Washington, D.C., May, 1999.

[41] The Jūybārī shaykhs of the sixteenth century come to mind. Among the studies that focus on the close relationships fostered between shaykhs and rulers, are: Sarah Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge, 1992); Ahmad Aziz, "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal Muslim India," *Der Islam* 40(1964), 142-153; Simon Digby, "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Mediaeval India," *Purusartha* 9(1986), 57-77; Richard Eaton, *The Sufis of Bijapur 1300-1700* (Princeton, 1978); Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992); Dina LeGall, "Political Instrumentality, Political Activism: Stories of the Early Ottoman Naqshbandiyya;" K. A. Nizami, "Naqshbandī Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics," *Islamic Culture* 39(1965), 41-53; Lawrence Potter, "Sufis and Sultans in Post-Mongol Iran," *Iranian Studies* 27(1994), 77-102.

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issue for the history of the Naqshbandīya.[42] Recent studies suggest that there are two Naqshbandī doctrines that support, if not a principle, at least an activist stance: rigorous adherence to the Sharīʿa and *khalvat dar anjūmān* (solitude within society).

Hamid Algar, in addressing the question, concludes, "The degree and frequency of political involvement found in the history of the Naqshbandīya is indeed unique ... emphatic interest in the *sharīʿa* as the fundamental substance of Islam, the means for ensuring its vigorous and secure existence in this world as well as the salvation of the individual in the next, has inevitably predisposed Naqshbandīs to political action."[43] 'Sharīʿa-mindedness,' to use Marshall Hodgson's term, is abundantly evident in the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār, as will be shown in the following chapter. But it is not clear whether adherence to the Sharīʿa is, in and of itself, the basis for political action. Consideration must also be given to the recurrent efforts of post-Mongol regimes in Khurāsān and Mawarannahr to reassert Islamic legality and to eradicate non-Islamic customs and institutions.[44] Such reassertions were usually expressed through endorsement of the Sharīʿa, the prohibition of illegal practices such as the drinking of wine or levying of the *tamgha* market tax, the construction and endowment of madrasas, mosques, and *khānqahs*, and the patronage of the representatives of the religious class. The reassertion of Islamic legality thus served to validate Islamic norms and the supremacy of the *umma*. In the post-Mongol eastern Islamic world, the necessity for such reassertion is a poignant reminder of the dual Turko-Mongol and Perso-Islamic cultural and political milieu that characterized fifteenth-century Timurid society.

The second legitimizing concept that supports the worldly participation of Naqshbandī shaykhs is that of *khalvat dar anjumān,* trans-

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[42] Devin DeWeese suggests that, in the context of competition among opposing Sufi groups, strict adherence to Sharīʿa may have been invoked by the Naqshbandī community as a means to distinguish itself from other established Sufi groups as well as to legitimize itself. (DeWeese, "Khojagānī Origins and the Critique of Sufism," 496).

[43] Hamid Algar, "Political Aspects of Naqshbandi History," 151.

[44] On these issues, see Maria Subtelny, "The Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī under the Timurids," in *God is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty* (Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit), *Festschrift in honour of Annemarie Schimmel*, ed. Alma Giese and J. Christoph Bürgel (Berlin, 1992), 377-406; Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform and Its Opponents in the Late Timurid Period," *Iranian Studies* 21, 1-2(1988), 123-151.

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lated by Algar as "solitude within society...i.e., being inwardly alone with God and concentrated on His reality while outwardly immersed in the transactions and relationships that sustain Muslim society."[45] Khwāja Aḥrār took this principle to heart in his daily immersion in society and thus provided a model of behavior for his followers.[46]

From the onset of Khwāja Aḥrār's career in Samarqand, he maintained close relations with rulers. After Abū Sā^{c}īd's defeat of his rival, Mīrzā ^{c}Abdullāh in 1451, achieved with the combined inspiration of Khwāja Aḥrār and the support of the Uzbek ruler, Abū'l-Khayr Khān, Aḥrār moved to Samarqand at Abū Sa'īd's invitation.[47] From this point on, Khwāja Aḥrār operated in three domains: the political domain of the courts and rulers; the economic domain of endowments, agriculture, and trade; and the *ṭarīqa* domain of his *khānqah* complex. In his political capacity, Khwāja Aḥrār mediated disputes between

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[45] Algar, "Political Aspects," 152. For a discussion of *khalvat* and *khalvat dar anjuman*, see Paul, "Doctrine and Organization," 30-34 and Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya,* 33-41. The principle of *khalvat dar anjuman* may be traced to ^{c}Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī, but it was not emphasized until the generation following Bahā' al-Dīn (Paul, 30-31).

[46] *Khalvat dar anjuman* legitimized the participation of Naqshbandīs in the political and economic spheres, and encouraged shaykhs to earn a living to support their livelihood and to provide for their disciples. Interestingly, Khwāja Aḥrār is reported to have forbidden his *murīds* to go to Herat because there were insufficient *vaqf* revenues available for their support, and because the Herati Naqshbandī shaykhs did not consider it necessary to support their own *murīds*, the consequence of which made it necessary for them to either take up an occupation or obtain support from the rulers. *Masmū^{c}āt,* 136b-137b. His hagiographers take a dual position of justifying the wealth of the master and student in order to provide the basic needs necessary for full devotion to study, and expressing admiration for hard work in order to avoid dependence on the gifts of rulers. Among the references to such issues are *Masmū^{c}āt,* 60a-60b, 62a, 66b, 75a-75b; *Silsilat*, 17b. 21b, 112a, 144a-114b. Khwāja Aḥrār's stance regarding the conditions in Herat was probably more a jab at the elitism of the courtier Naqshbandīs than a taboo. Based on the letters of Aḥrār, and especially Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, who is constantly petitioning the court on behalf of his poverty-stricken shaykhs, students and adepts, it was certainly not considered beyond the pale to request support from the court. Nevertheless, following Khwāja Aḥrār's philosophy, those individuals should have been working toward earning their own livelihood.

[47] For a discussion of Khwāja Aḥrār's role in Abū Sa^{c}īd's accession and the various rhetorical patterns in the narratives, see Jo-Ann Gross, "Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaykh: Symbolic Statements of Political and Religious Authority," and Appendices A and C, "Khoja Ahrar: A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power and Prestige in the Late Timurid Period." Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1982.

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princes, appealed to rulers to uphold the Sharīʿa and repeal anti-Sharīʿa practices such as the *tamgha*, and advised *sulṭāns* and princes and urged them to rule justly.[48] There are numerous references in the hagiographies as well as in Khwāja Aḥrār's letters to his professed obligation to "mingle with *sulṭāns*" in order to uphold the Sharīʿa, to ensure peace, and to prevent the oppression of the Muslim populace. As Khwāja Aḥrār said, according to Mawlānā Muḥmmad Qāżī, "If we had chosen to become a shaykh no other shaykh would find a disciple in these times. But our given duty is to release Muslims from the evil of oppression and to this end we must mingle with kings and conquer their souls."[49]

Khwāja Aḥrār's political role as mediator in conflicts between Timurid rulers is well documented in the hagiographical and/or chronicle sources as well as in his correspondence in reference to the following four cases: the siege of Samarqand by Abū'l-Qāsim Bābur (1452-1457); the rebellion of Nūr Saʿīd in 1460/61; the rebellion of Muḥammad Jūkī against Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd in Shāhrukhīya (1461-1463); and the discord between Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and Abū Sa'īd's sons, Sulṭān Aḥmad (ruler in Samarqand, 1468-1493) and Maḥmūd (ruler in Ḥisār, 1459-1494).[50] In all of four cases Khwāja Aḥrār served as advisor and mediator in the peace negotiations.

Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār's Economic Role

The well known degree to which Khwāja Aḥrār established an agrarian base in the regions of Samarqand, Tashkent, and Bukhara is based

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[48] On Khwāja Aḥrār's role in the repeal of the *tamgha* in Bukhara and Samarqand, see *Manāqib*, 103a; *Rawżat al-ṣafāʿ*, vol. 8, 835; *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, 1105-06; *Silsilat*, 71a.

[49] *Silsilat,* 163b. This is a slightly different translation from that previously published in Gross, "Khoja Ahrar: A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power and Prestige," 1982, 51. Paul also cites this example in his 1991 volume, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšhbandiyya*, 219. Other similar examples of this theme include *Masmūʿāt*, 81a-81b, 90a, 39b-40a; *Silsilat*, 68a, 101a-102b; *Manāqib*, 102b. The narratives support the ideology of *khalvat dar anjuman*, although the attitude they represent, not surprisingly, resulted in criticism and opposition on the part of other competing shaykhs seeking to establish their own bases for legitimacy and success. In response to the expressed disapproval of his worldly activities, and in their defense, Khwāja Aḥrār's hagiographers emphasize the logic of such endeavors as well as their worthy and meritorious outcomes.

[50] ʿUmar-Shaykh joined his brother Maḥmūd in his march on Samarqand. For a discussion of these conflicts and Khwāja Aḥrār's role, see Chapter Two.

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on his position as *mutavallī*, his involvement in artisan and commercial activities, and his role in the local economy. Key to the successful management of such activities was Khwāja Aḥrār's establishment of a centralized organization within the Naqshbandī community in the village of Khwāja Kafshīr on the outskirts of Samarqand, whose focal point was the *khānqāh* complex known as the *Muḥawwaṭa-yi mullāyān*.[51] *Vaqf* documents, purchase deeds, hagiographical references, and correspondence all point to Aḥrār's role as a major player in the local economy. Three trust deeds drawn up between 1470 and 1490, the year of his death, enumerate his endowments and beneficiaries, which were Khwāja Ahrār's male heirs, a madrasa in Samarqand in the Sūzangarān quarter, a mosque and madrasa in Tashkent, and the shrine complex (including two *khānqahs* and a mosque) located in Khwāja Kafshīr.[52] These endowments help account for Khwāja Aḥrār's broad base of economic interests and, furthermore, provide clues for understanding the formation of the Ahrārī dynastic family.

Twelve known *vaqf* documents were drafted during Khwāja Aḥrār's lifetime, which include eight purchase deeds (three of which have *vaqf*-conversion codicils) and four *vaqf* charters. Included in the properties purchased by Khwāja Aḥrār were houses, orchards, land parcels, twelve shops in Samarqand, gardens, and baths. In a document dating 1470, for example, Khwāja Aḥrār endowed his madrasa in Samarqand (located in the Darb-i Sūzangarān neighborhood) with additional land in Bukhara, Samarqand, and the Qashka Darya valley.[53] Land that

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[51] Paul concludes that a central bureaucratic administration was housed in the buildings of the *Muḥawwaṭa-yi mullāyān*. (*Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandīyya*, 94-100). See *Rashaḥāt* for reference to the title of the complex, vol. 2, 618. However, the Samarqand "administration" would have been a less developed and formalized shrine administration than that found in Herat as described in Subtelny's forthcoming study, *The Transformation of the Timurid State: A Study of Fiscal Management and Agricultural Development in 15th-Century Iran*, or that found in Balkh based on McChesney's study, *Waqf in Central Asia*. I am grateful to Maria Subtelny for sharing her chapter on shrine administration with me.

[52] See Chekhovich, SD, documents 5, 10, 11, and 12.

[53] This endowment was re-endowed in 1490 before Khwāja Aḥrār's death. See Document 11. In the 1470 document, revenues from the villages of Jayj and Vang in the province of Samarqand, which included a watermill, irrigation for farm land, houses, two dwellings with shops, and an *ayvan* in Samarqand on the Registan, were to be assigned to the repair and upkeep of the Samarqand mosque, and what remained was to be distributed for the support and upkeep of the mosque, prayer leader,

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was purchased by Khwāja Aḥrār (or land donated to him) often remained in the hands of former owners, thus initiating new forms of economic relationships between Aḥrār and those working the land.[54]

The documents reveal that many separate parcels of land were bought by or donated to Khwāja Aḥrār and then subsequently converted into *vaqf*. For example, in Document 10 almost 250 previously acquired sections of land of varying sizes were committed to *vaqf* by Khwāja Aḥrār for the benefit of two *khānqahs* and a mosque in Samarqand. Sellers included farmers, women, shaykhs, *amīrs*, and artisans; properties included agricultural land, orchards, trees, mills, horses, cooking utensils, cows, and slaves. Khwāja Aḥrār was stipulated to be the *vaqf* administrator, and after his death, his sons Khwāja Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh and Khwāja Muḥammad Yaḥyā and their heirs would become the beneficiaries and administrators of the *vaqf*. After the specific expenditure of revenues was distributed, the administrator was free to dispose of the remaining revenues in whatever way he saw fit. Khwāja Aḥrār also gave his sons the right to become instructors in the madrasa. Khwāja Aḥrār's establishment of *vaqf* is further illustrated by document 11, which registered property transactions in Samarqand, Bukhara, and Tashkent for the benefit of his madrasa in Samarqand. The properties listed in this document included shops, whole villages, agricultural land, houses, mills and a bath in Bukhara.

Khwāja Aḥrār not only had a large interest in the agricultural economy of the regions of Samarqand, Bukhara and Tashkent;[55] he also had commercial interests in Samarqand and trade interests in

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teacher, and prayer caller as the founder, Khwāja Aḥrār, saw fit.

[54] Sometimes former owners still possessed rights through contracts or agreements which allowed them to continue to cultivate their formerly owned fields (Paul, *Die politische*, 139).

[55] The last extant *vaqf* document (#12), composed before Khwāja Aḥrār's death in 1490, is one in which Khwāja Aḥrār committed much of his property in Tashkent to *vaqf* for the benefit of a madrasa and mosque in Tashkent. The document records that an entire region located on the banks of the Chirchik River and along the Keles River came into Khwāja Aḥrār's ownership. It lists nineteen privately owned properties or estates in this area and stipulates that, after Khwāja Aḥrār's death, his male heirs were to be the administrators, retain the profits, and have the option of becoming teachers at the madrasa. Paul speculates that the reason why so many owners sold their properties to Khwāja Aḥrār is that they "wanted to put themselves under Khwāja Aḥrār's protection (*ḥimāyat*) by means of selling their land, and that Khwāja Aḥrār agreed to protect them." The protection, the subject of a separate article by Paul, was from oppressive tax collectors, bandits, and nomads. See Paul, *Die politische*, 153, "Forming a Faction: The Ḥimāyat System of Khwaja Ahrar," 533-548.

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Khurāsān.[56] Khwāja Aḥrār's ownership of shops and his related relationships with artisans is substantiated in a number of references and is documented, as cited above, in a 1451 deed that records Khwāja Aḥrār's purchase of twelve shops in Samarqand.

As a form of religious charity, the endowment of properties is itself a pious act. *Vaqf ahlī*, or family *vaqf*, also served to guarantee an income for the founder and his heirs and protected those properties from Qur'ānic laws of inheritance. As the work of McChesney and Subtelny have shown, *vaqf* is a critical factor in the establishment of social services through the financing of education, the construction and upkeep of buildings, and the financing of salaries.[57] The endowments of Khwāja Aḥrār, especially when analyzed along with correspondence and the hagiographical record, further illuminate his philanthropic, administrative and commercial positions, and reveal significant evidence about the local economy of the Samarqand region.

The success of Khwāja Aḥrār's economic activities should also be viewed in the broader context of his status, prestige, and authority. His ability to establish such a central economic role is implicitly related to his position and reputation as a Naqshbandī shaykh, his established role as a landowner and agriculturalist in Tashkent prior to his move to Samarqand, and his ability to successfully administer a broad base of economic activities. Furthermore, Aḥrār's control over such extensive property holdings precipitated a network of social and economic alignments between Khwāja Aḥrār and artisans, farmers, villagers, townspeople, and local and state officials.

Interregionalism and the Naqshbandīya

During the period of Khwāja Aḥrār's spiritual mastery, close ties developed between the Samarqand and Herat Naqshbandīya, specifically between Khwāja Aḥrār in Samarqand and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī in Herat. Khwāja Aḥrār developed a partic-

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[56] See Gross, "Naqshbandi Appeals to the Herat Court" and Chapter Two for a discussion of Aḥrār's trade interests.

[57] Maria Subtelny, "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlāṣiyya Complex of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī in 15th-Century Herat and its Endowment," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111.1(1991):38-61; M. Subtelny, "The Vaqfīya of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī as Apologia," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 15(1991):257-285; Robert McChesney, "*Waqf,* in Central Asia," EI2.

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ularly close relationship with Jāmī, whom he first met in Herat in 865/1460 when he appealed to Sulṭān Abū Sāᶜīd for the abolition of the *tamgha*. Over the next twenty years the two Naqshbandī shaykhs would meet three additional times and would maintain a relationship through correspondence. Jāmī spent six months in Samarqand in 1465. In 1467 he met Aḥrār in Marv, and he also visited Aḥrār in Samarqand and Andijan in 1479.[58] ᶜAbd al-Vāsiᶜ Niẓāmī Bākharzī provides a detailed account of Jāmī's visit to Samarqand in 1465 in which he conveys the closeness that developed between the shaykhs.[59]

The letters of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* further document a flow of petitions and a movement of people back and forth between the Samarqand center of the Naqshbandīya and the Herat court. Many of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters were petitions addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī for the purposes of his intercession in matters requiring the approval, permission, or response of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā.

Beyond the interregional communications network between Herat and Samarqand, one of the notable aspects of the development of the Naqshbandīya in late fifteenth-century Central Asia is the expansion of the *ṭarīqa* outside the confines of Mawarannahr and Khurāsān. The introduction of this process appears to have been due to the personal impetus of Khwāja Aḥrār. The Naqshbandī practice of non-hereditary succession provided Khwāja Aḥrār with a degree of freedom in his missionary endeavors. He not only sent *khalīfas* to spread the *ṭarīqā* beyond its region of origin, he often sent *mūrīds* who had come to study with him from their native homes in regions outside Mawarannahr. ᶜAbd Allāh Ilāhi, a native of Simav in western Anatolia, who was responsible for the early diffusion of the Naqshbandīya into the Ottoman lands in the late 15th century, is a case in point.[60]

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[58] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī spent one month with Khwāja Aḥrār in 1479. Because of the plague in Samarqand, Aḥrār brought Jāmī, together with his own followers, to Andijan. See *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, 114-115. Boldyrev reviews Jāmī's references to Aḥrār in his writings, and includes a Russian translation of the verse from his *Silsilat al-dhahab*. Jāmī also dedicated the *Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār* to Khwāja Aḥrār. See Boldyrev, "Eshchë raz k voprosu o Khodzha-Akhrare," 54-56.

[59] *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, 114-117.

[60] Dina LeGall's Ph.D. dissertation on the spread of the Naqshbandīyya into the Ottoman realm details this process of expansion. See LeGall, "The Ottoman Naqshbandiyya in the Pre-Mujaddidī Phase: A Study in Islamic Religious Culture and its Transmission." Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992. See also Dina LeGall, "Missionaries, Pilgrims and Refugees: The Early Transmission of the Naqshbandiyya to

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Others include Shaykh ᶜAlī Kurdī, originally from ᶜAmādiyya, who settled in Qazvīn (and died at the hands of the Safavids in 925/1519), Mawlānā Utrārī, who traveled to the Hijaz, and Sirāj al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Vahhāb, a native of Samarqand who traveled to Tabrīz.[61]

Summary

Under the leadership of Khwāja Aḥrār, the Naqshbandīya developed a more centralized, communal, organizational structure in response to Khwāja Aḥrār's involvement in the agrarian and commercial economy of Central Asia and due to his large number of followers. The outlook of the Naqshbandīya also broadened as Khwāja Aḥrār developed close ties to rulers and to members of the cultural elite of Herat and as he extended the geographical boundaries of the *ṭarīqa* by sending *khalīfas* outside his immediate locale. The successful integration of the Naqshbandī community into the urban milieu and its more rural surroundings may be attributed to a combination of social, political, economic, and ideological factors.[62] A Sunnī order deeply committed to Sharīᶜa orthodoxy and the protection of the populace was undoubtedly attractive to the Timurids who sought to promote Perso-Islamic ideals as a means of legitimacy. Specific aspects of the economy such as the proliferation of *vaqf* endowments worked to increase the economic base as well as the authority of the Aḥrārī family and community. And finally, the decentralized political system of the Timurids, in which family members competed for legitimacy and territory and *amīrs* vied for power, left a politically astute and prestigious shaykh, such as Khwāja Aḥrār, in a position to exert his influence as an advisor as well as a mediator. In the next chapter each of these themes will be probed in more depth in the context of the correspondence of Khwāja Aḥrār and his associates.

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the Ottoman Lands," in *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam*, ed. Hassan Elboudrari (Cairo, 1994), 225-40.

[61] Algar, "Naḳshbandiyya," EI^2.

[62] Devin DeWeese compares this success with the contrasting decline of the Kubravīya in "The Eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia," *Iranian Studies* 21,1-2(1988):45-83.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE *MAJMŪᶜA-YI MURĀSALĀT* AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF MAWARANNAHR AND KHURĀSĀN IN THE LATE TIMURID PERIOD

As a communicative form, correspondence, by its very nature, presupposes a relationship between the author and his recipient. Letters may express human traits, moral comportment, or authority. They may reveal the innermost thoughts and desires of their authors, or allude to the actions and events of everyday life. Reaching beyond the boundaries of chronicle narrative, correspondence defines its audience in a personalized space. However perfunctory they may sometimes appear, letters are unique and valuable historical documents.

The 257 autograph letters of Khwāja Aḥrār and his associates that are included in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* are remarkable sources for the history of premodern Central Asia and the Naqshbandīya. The letters were all directed to the court of the Timurid capital in Herat. Bearing the handwriting of Khwāja Aḥrār, his disciples and his associates, the letters trace a dynamic process of exchange between Mawarannahr and Khurāsān in the late fifteenth-century. These letters were personally delivered by trusted couriers (most of whom were Khwāja Aḥrār's disciples) who travelled regularly between Samarqand and Herat, were received by servitors of the court, and were passed to the highest ranking officials of the Timurid court, including the *sulṭān* himself. Amazingly preserved in a single album for over five hundred years, they significantly add to our knowledge of Khwāja Aḥrār's activities, influence, and world view and broaden our understanding of social etiquette, pious ideals, economic transactions, peacemaking, patronage, and the trials and tribulations of daily life.

Although the specific addressee is not always clear, many of the letters appear to be addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī (or his servitors) as petitions (*ᶜarża-dāsht*) requests (*iltimās*), or letters of supplication (*ruqᶜa-yi niyaz*), the majority of which were written with the expectation of his intercession with Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā.[1] Others are

[1] Authorship of some letters is not discernible; see Chapter 3.

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written to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā or ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. In content, the letters range from petitions, to reportage, to advice. All of the letters convey the profound respect of the authors for their addressees, and often include formulaic introductory and concluding blessings along with honorary titulature, *duᶜās, sūras,* and *ḥadīths.*

As historical sources of the late Timurid period, the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār and his associates draw a composite picture of a variety of social relationships between shaykhs, rulers, elites, and the Muslim populace. The purpose of this chapter is to open for discussion the social, economic, and political significance of the letters as historical sources. We do not intend to provide a full historical analysis of the evidence, which we leave for subsequent publications. Rather, we will selectively consider the main themes, some of which overlap, in an attempt to reveal the personal involvement of the authors in the everyday life of the Timurid state.

1. The Political Sphere

Although the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār and his associates cover a broad range of political issues, the two most prevalent and, in our view most significant, are the bipolar themes of conflict and peacemaking, and the Sharīᶜa and unbelievers. For the remainder of the chapter we will discuss the attitudes and behaviors elicited in the letters that address these themes, and their implications for our understanding of late fifteenth-century Timurid history.

Internecine Conflict and the Politics of Peacemaking

The desire for tranquility is a universal ideal in all societies. Following the death of Timur, this ideal was seldom achieved as challenges to authority and legitimacy through military might, Chingizid descent, political power, nomadic incursions along the frontiers, and competition among *amīrs* and princes brought perpetual challenges to the stability of the Timurid state. These demands and the self-proclaimed responsibility of Naqshbandī shaykhs to protect the Muslim populace, maintain unity among the Timurids, and resolve as quickly as possibly any ensuing conflicts are clearly reflected in the chronicle and biographical sources. They are further substantiated by the many letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* that address issues of discord and peacemaking. Many of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters report unrest and convey

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pleas for unity and peace. Khwāja Aḥrār writes, for example, that he is sending a group of his followers with some sheep and horses "because this land has been in turbulence," and he asks for their protection.[2] In another letter Khwāja Aḥrār reports that " ... at a time when discord has surrounded that side (Khurāsān) some people have passed through this side (Mawarannahr) and have carried off five male and young female slaves (*panj sar ghulām va kanīzak*) from among the people who are connected (*taᶜalluq*) with this *faqīr*. Sheep and horses were also being carried off."[3] In a third letter Khwāja Aḥrār writes, " ... although disturbing news is abundant everywhere, it is hoped that through the infinite kindness of the Almighty, out of pure mercy, He shall keep all the Muslims from the hardship of [this] world and the hereafter so no one anywhere shall suffer."[4]

As discussed in the previous chapter, we know of four specific conflicts in which Khwāja Aḥrār played a mediating role. Although it is not always possible to find a match between those incidents alluded to in the letters and specific historical events known to us from the chronicle and biographical sources, it is possible to speculate on congruences based on patterns in the letters' contents. Of all the references, the content in letter 58(61) is the easiest to identify, since Khwāja Aḥrār refers specifically to Aḥmad Mushtāq, the *ḥākim* of Balkh appointed by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. Aḥmad Mushtāq rebelled in 1471-72. As Khwāndamīr relates,

> "After Ahmad Mushtaq had been governor in Balkh for a time, the vapors of pride and conceit rose to his brain and he imagined himself autonomous. In all earnestness and seriousness he made himself ready for insurgence and sent messengers to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Mirza to enlist himself as their supporter. When this became known in Herat, the emperor decided to get Ahmad Mushtaq out of Balkh and not to let him grab the reigns of power there again.[5]

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[2] Letter no. 313(317).

[3] Letter no. 15.

[4] Letter no. 40(41). In letter no. 56(59) Khwāja Aḥrār writes that " ... it is true that this *faqīr* has suffered greatly to keep the people from here [Mawarannahr] from heading to that side [Khurāsān]. They have often thought of it; the [aim] was not realized. Because these people are numerous, their country does not suffice for their maintainence (*maᶜūnat*). Fort this reason they are suffering greatly, to the point that misfortune affects [them] in every way [imaginable]."

[5] English translation by Thackston, HS Thackston, tome 3, 433-434. For the Persian see HS, vol. 4, 161-166.

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Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā laid seige to Balkh for four months, and Mushtāq attempted to muster the support of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd's sons, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd (ruler of Ḥiṣār 1459-1494) and Sulṭān-Aḥmad (ruler in Samarqand 1468-1493).[6] Khwāja Aḥrār apparently wrote letter no. 58(61) in order to deflect rumors that Mushtāq had succeeded in gaining their support. In fact, Sulṭān-Aḥmad dispatched some of his troops from Samarqand to Balkh in support of Aḥmad Mushtāq. According to Khwāndamīr,

> "Learning of the emperor's approach, Ahmad Mushtaq raised the defenses of Balkh and decided to hold out. Swift messengers were dispatched to Sultan-Ahmad Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Mirza to request assistance. Thinking they might take Balkh for themselves, the two princes sent aid to Ahmad Mushtaq, and Sultan-Mahmud Mirza himself set out for the banks of the river. If Sultan-Ahmad did not go himself, he sent some troops from Samarkand."[7]

In response to the princes actions, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā "sent his swiftest tovachïs to Herat and all other provinces of Khurasan to tell the governors and prefects to gather their forces and join the imperial troops as soon as possible."[8]

Most of the remaining letters refer to the conflict between Sulṭān Aḥmad, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, and ᶜUmar Shaykh. After the death of Abū Saᶜīd in 1469, when Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā was consolidating his rule in Herat, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, with the help of his brother ᶜUmar Shaykh, moved to attack Samarqand, and Sulṭān-Aḥmad came out to defend it.[9] Khwāndamīr describes the conflict and Khwāja Aḥrār's role in meditating a peace agreement.

> The story is told from reliable sources that once ᶜUmar-Shaykh Mirza and Sultan-Mahmud Mirza had formed an alliance and were leading their armies to Samarkand, Sultan-Ahmad Mirza came out to fight his brothers. On the day they arrayed their armies opposite each other, suddenly news arrived that Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaydullah was coming

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[6] HS, vol. 4, 161-168; HS Thackston, tome 3, 433-437,

[7] English translation by Thackston, HS Thackston, tome 3, 434; HS, vol. 4, 162.

[8] HS, vol. 4, 165.; HS Thackston, tome 3, 435;

[9] HS, vol. 4, 109; HS Thackston, tome 3, 410; *Silsilat*, fols. 171b-173b; *Manāqib-i Aḥrār*, 118a-119b, *Rashaḥāt*, 531-535. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī bases his information on Mawlānā Qāżī's *Silsilat al-ᶜārifīn*. See Jo-Ann Gross, "Khoja Ahrar: A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power," Appendix F for a translation of the account in the *Silsilat al-ᶜārifīn*, 183-185.

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> to the battle, and out of respect for him the three brothers checked their reigns and did not touch their weapons until they found out why the khwaja was coming. Just then Khwaja Ubaydullah arrived and, quenching the fire of battle and strife with the water of advice and counsel, had the three brothers make peace. He ordered a tent pitched in the battlefield, and Sultan-Ahmad Mirza, Sultan-Mahmud Mirza, and Umar-Shaykh Mirza left the ranks of their armies and went there. Seated on one rug in the khwaja's presence, they all swore that henceforth they would live in harmony and not disagree. Then all three returned to their armies and went back to their respective provinces, firm in their agreement until the end of their lives.[10]

Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, an eyewitness to the event, provides a more laudatory but also more extensive account of the negotiation process. He reports that when Sulṭān-Aḥmad set out to meet ʿUmar-Shaykh and Maḥmūd with his army, Khwāja Aḥrār accompanied him as peace broker. After forty days, they came to the district of Shāhrukhīya. Seeing that the armies were close to attacking, Khwāja Aḥrār reportedly said to Sulṭān-Aḥmad, "I am not a fighting man. If you are about to engage in fighting, why did you bring me along? And if you mean peace, what is the cause for the delay? My patience is used up and I cannot stay any longer with the army."[11] Mīrzā Aḥmad responded by giving him full authority, and Khwāja Aḥrār ordered a few people, including Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, to approach the camps of ʿUmar-Shaykh and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, who met them halfway and escorted them to Shāhrukhīya. Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī describes Khwāja Aḥrār as being particularly astute at the meeting in very diplomatically attending to Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. Khwāja Aḥrār addressed the two brothers and detailed the conditions for the agreement. In the morning, the troops of Sulṭān-Aḥmad mounted their horses without their armor (as had been agreed), and descended to a mound named Qahqaha. Khwāja Aḥrār returned to Shāhrukhīya and took ʿUmar-Shaykh and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd with him. Finally the armies gathered together in rows, carrying all their arms except for their mail coats, while Khwāja Aḥrār stood in the middle raising the canopy (*shāmyāna*). There was a dispute over where to raise the tent, which was eventually settled. Eventually, after Khwāja Aḥrār was able to

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[10] HS Thackston, tome 3, 410; HS, vol. 4, 109-110. See also TR, English trans., book 1, 62; Persian text, 41a-42b.

[11] *Silsilat*, fols. 171b.

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ease the tension between the armies, he succeeded in negotiating a treaty and writing up the necessary documents.[12]

Letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* authored by Khwāja Aḥrār, Khwāja ᶜAlī, and Mawlānā Qāsim provide a different perspective on these events since they record the intermittent trail of correspondence between Khwāja Aḥrār and the Herat court that ultimately led to the final agreement that was approved by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā.[13] The letters reveal the nature of the negotiations between Khwāja Aḥrār and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, and bring into focus the extent of Aḥrār's influence and responsibility. The letters also highlight the active role played by Aḥrār's trusted disciple (and his son-in-law), Khwāja ᶜAlī, as envoy to the court.[14] Khwāja ᶜAlī himself alludes to the importance of the communication process when he writes,

> What is in the minds of the *amīrs* is that everyone whom they dispatch to this side, out of magnanimity and munificence, might [bear] noble letters from your excellency's side and [from] other *amīrs* to the *amīrs* of this side; since the path of peace and goodwill exists [between the two sides], the hope is that [you] will favor us, through those who come [from there], with messages and correspondence and directives (*murāsalāt va mukātabāt va ishārāt*).[15]

Many other letters refer to the troubles caused by rumors issuing from those arriving in Mawarannahr from Khurāsān, especially those who had entered the royal camp of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā along the way. Khwāja Aḥrār wrote several letters to dispel the suspicion that the princes were up to no good.[16]

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[12] *Silsilat*, fols. 171b-173b.

[13] Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt makes the following comment on the role of Khwāja Aḥrār's disciples Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, Khwāja ᶜAlī, and Mawlānā Qāsim as intermediaries between the Timurid *sulṭāns* and Khwāja Aḥrār: "It was the custom of rulers in that time for every ruler to have a connection with one of His Holiness's disciples, through whom the requests of petitioners might be referred to His Holiness's attention. Mawlana Qasim was Sultan-Abusaᶜid Mirza's go-between, and Mawlana Khwaja ᶜAlī was Sultan-Ahmad Mirza's go-between. All the rulers maintained this custom. Sultan-Mahmud Khan's go-between was Hazrat Mawlana [Qazi]." See TR, English trans., book 2, 63.

[14] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 632. See Chapter 3 for a more complete discussion of Khwāja ᶜAlī's relationship with Khwāja Aḥrār. Included among his letters is one that requests Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-Bāyqarā to show mercy by granting amnesty to supporters of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd who were captured by him. See letter no. 490(496).

[15] Letter no. 585(591).

[16] See letter nos. 286(290), 281(285), 374(380).

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We also learn of the difficulties and the stress that Khwāja Aḥrār encounters in his negotiations, particularly in his dealings with Sulṭān-Maḥmūd.[17] Aḥrar states in letter 27(28), "However much this *faqīr* has wanted to make peace between the kinsmen (*khvīshān*) so the Muslims may not suffer, every once in a while something happens to dispel that hope." In two separate letters, one by Khwāja ᶜAlī and one by Mawlānā Qāsim, the authors report that Khwāja Aḥrār ordered Sulṭān-Maḥmūd to cease his hostile actions.[18] Khwāja ᶜAlī writes,

> " ... it is faithfully submitted to the servitors of his Majesty that the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace and preserve him), sent counsel (*naṣīḥat*) several times, through his servitors, to his Highness Sulṭān-Maḥmūd; disregarding [such counsel] is a great sin. He did not accept it. In these past few days his honor, Mawlānā Muḥammad, arrived bringing apologies, [announcing], "Pillage was not our choice. Our irregulars (*barg*) were carrying out acts of war (*jang*) without our decision. From now on, we shall not act badly."[19]

Mawlānā Qāsim reports in his letter that " ... the holy Khwāja had several times issued a directive (*ishārat*) to the servitors of the *makh-dūmzada*, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Mīrzā, violating which is a great sin."[20]

This series of letters also suggests that Khwāja Aḥrār may have been perceived as overstepping his authority during the peace-making process. For example, letter no. 14 suggests that there was some uneasiness expressed by the Sulṭān concerning a petition that Khwāja

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[17] Khwāja Aḥrār wrote a letter to Sulṭān-Maḥmūd in which he begged him to take the path of peace. ᶜAbd al-Avval writes in the *Masmūᶜāt* that Khwāja Aḥrār wrote the letter after Sulṭān-Maḥmūd had arrived in Samarqand, and after a few days of battle and siege (see *Maktūbāt*, MS IVANTa, No. 146/II, fol. 76a). Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt reports the following story about Sulṭān-Maḥmūd from Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī: "I was praising Sultan-Mahmud Khan to His Holiness and making a request for him in the process. His Holiness said, 'Yes, Sultan-Mahmud Khan is a worthy young man, but he has one flaw that keeps him from advancing. A trainee should do everything his trainer tells him to do, and he should not act according to his own rationalization and thinking. He should be like a falcon and go after whatever it is sent for, regardless of whether it has the strength to catch it or not, and grab hold without regards for whether it is possible or not. That is why the khan has not progressed as people had expected he would." TR, English trans., book two, 143-144, Persian text, 105a-105b.

[18] Letter no. 386(392) of Khwāja ᶜAlī and letter no. 389(395) of Mawlānā Qāsim.

[19] Letter no. 386(392).

[20] Letter no. 389(395).

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Aḥrār made on behalf of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, which Khwāja ᶜAlī delivered to Herat. Khwāja Aḥrār states,

> "There was no other intention but the request presented on behalf of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd at the time when Khwāja ᶜAlī had gained service [with you] and was presenting the petition of this helpless one before the servitors. We are making that same [petition]. If there has been an error in writing it, we ask for forgiveness. It is hoped that with the forgiving light of his Majesty the darkness of punishment for transgression and error shall disappear."[21]

Khwāja Aḥrār continues with his petition that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā should recall his kinsmen (*khvīshān*) in order to relieve the Muslim populace, since "many have been taken into captivity and are being taken into captivity."

In three letters, Khwāja Aḥrār is surprisingly blunt in directing the Sulṭān to recall the princes as well as apportion his territory for the sake of peace. After having negotiated an agreement between the princes, Khwāja Aḥrār writes,

> "The request is that all of his Majesty's effort be used to establish peace and friendship between the kinsmen (*khvīshān*). For the affairs of this world, the smallness and largeness of territories (*vilāyat*) should not be brought to mind. The interests of the Muslims should be the focus of the mind of his Majesty's mind. The well-being of the Muslims should be considered.[22]

And in a second letter, Khwāja Aḥrār writes,

> " … the request of all the servitors of his Royal Majesty … is that they may endeavor to make peace between his Majesty and [his] kinsmen (*khvīshān*) in such a way that from whatever territories (*mamālik*) have been bestowed upon him he should give a portion to his kinsmen. That method [of reconciliation] has not been approved by the servitors of that court (*dargāh*); rather, some have suspected that such conduct is illegal (*nā mashrūᶜ*). The opinion of this *faqīr* has been that doing such a thing in order to strike peace between Muslims is not unsound. I have also understood that submitting such a request before the servitors of his Majesty is bad. I cannot transgress any further, although I am

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[21] In letter no. 286(290) Khwāja Aḥrār again defends the rationale for his actions, stating, "We had requested several things in that note, [and] it is requested that [your] noble mind be directed to the fulfillment of my request. This *faqīr* had the boldness to send someone not because it was within my authority, but rather because the order for reconciliation (*amr-i iṣlaḥ*) was issued from the court."

[22] Letter no. 293(297).

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> still hopeful that with the effort of the servitors this method [of reconciliation] will come to pass, so the anxiety of these relatives will also be decreased."[23]

It seems that Aḥrār's repeated exhortations were successful. In another letter, Khwāja Aḥrār expresses his gratitude after having received a letter informing him that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā was going to recall the princes. But after expressing thanks, he issues a statement concerning the territorial boundaries of Timurid sovereignty by writing, "Prior to this event, it was known to the minds of the servitors [here] that Mawarannahr shall belong to them [Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Aḥmad], while that side [Khurāsān] shall belong to the servitors of his Majesty. If this arrangement is not agreeable, [I] beg for forgiveness If it is agreeable, then let it conform with the grace of his Majesty."[24]

If there is any doubt as to the central role played by Khwāja Aḥrār in negotiating a peace agreement between Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Aḥmad, the letters in the *Majmū'a-yi murāsalāt* eliminate it. The political activities of Khwāja Aḥrār have often been interpreted as proof of Aḥrār's concern with his own self-aggrandizement. Although his active role most probably did grant him increased prestige and influence, and his biographers were not averse to highlighting that, the letters clearly demonstrate that Khwāja Aḥrār was intensely involved in the establishment of peace and tranquillity. To achieve that aim, moreover, he was not reticent about using his diplomatic skills or even in dictating the terms. Unlike the standard sources, moreover, the letters reveal the tensions as well as the emotional involvement of all the parties.

Exhortations on Sharī'a and Unbelief

In her study of the cult of 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, Maria Subtelny demonstrates how Timurid rulers, from Shāh Rukh (1409-1447) to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506), exploited the Islamic moral authority of Anṣārī as a source for legitimizing Timurid rule in Khurāsān. She states,

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[23] Letter no. 52(53,58). It is not clear whether this land was *khāliṣa* or *mamālik-i pādishāhī* land (crown land), or even *vaqf*, although the latter is unlikely. In any case, the unnamed court jurists apparently did not approve of this method of reconciliation.

[24] Letter no. 21.

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> "As a staunch Hanbalite, Anṣārī became the perfect symbol of the Timurids' stated return to Islamic principles and of their opposition to all elements that posed a threat to the stability of their regime. The goals of Hanbalism, with its unequivocal endorsement of the Shari^{c}a, strong anti-Shi^{c}ite bias, insistence on the external observance of Islamic prescriptions, and condemnation of immorality ... were so general that it enjoyed the sympathy of the mainstream of the Muslim community.[25]

In this quest for legitimization, Shāh Rukh revived the cult of Anṣārī, constructing an enclosure (*ḥażīra*) around his tomb, which is known as the Gāzargāh shrine. Later Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā generously endowed Gāzargāh, and, interestingly, actually claimed descent from Anṣārī himself.[26]

Although Khwāja Aḥrār was not a traditionist, one could argue that Khwāja Aḥrār and the Naqshbandī community, particularly its most distinguished shaykhs, similarly served to legitimize Timurid rule in Mawarannahr and Khurāsān. The Naqshbandīya is often depicted as a strong representative of Sunnism in the late fifteenth-century, with ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī in Herat and Khwāja Aḥrār in Samarqand as the pre-eminent spokesmen. In the *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, Niẓāmī Bākharzī depicts Jāmī as a pragmatic neutralizing force in resolving a number of sectarian controversies. According to him, Jāmī "saved the religion of Islam from the wrongdoers" three times during the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, first when Sayyid Abū'l Ḥasan Karbalā'ī wanted to change the *khuṭba* to include the names of the twelve *imāms;* second, at the time of the discovery of tomb of ^{c}Alī in Khwāja Khayrān, which caused a "great disturbance in Khurāsān;" and third, in connection with the activities of Shāh Qāsim Nurbakhsh, whose popularity in Herat "surpassed all bounds."[27] Al-

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[25] Subtelny, "The Cult of ^{c}Abdullāh Anṣārī," 383.

[26] Subtelny, "The Cult of ^{c}Abdullāh Anṣārī," 389-90.

[27] For a discussion of the three incidents, see *Maqāmāt-i Mawlāvi Jāmī*, fols. 144b-145a, and the published text, *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, which includes a variant narrative, pp. 191-195. For a full discussion of the "discovery" of the ^{c}Alīd tomb, see Robert D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, 26-36. Shāh Qāsim Nurbakhsh (d. 912/1506-07) was the son and successor of the founder of the Shi^{c}ite Nūrbakhshī order, Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464-65), whose designation as *mahdī* led to his capture by Shāh Rukh. In 1436 Shāh Rukh sent for Muḥammad Nurbakhsh and forced him to publicly repudiate his claim. Niẓāmī Bākharzī discusses Shāh Qāsim Nurbakhsh's visit to Herat, whom he describes as a "person of extreme corruption and heresy" (*Maqāmāt-i Jāmī,* 190). Nurbakhsh stayed in Herat for some time,

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though these events raise important issues regarding the development of socioreligious ideas in pre-Safavid Khurāsān, they are beyond the bounds of this study to discuss at length. Suffice it to say that these incidents draw attention to the fluid religious environment in late fifteenth-century Herat, particularly to the penetration of Shī'ī ideas into Sufism, to the popular devotion to the family of the Prophet, to the growth of such heretical movements as the Ḥurūfiyya and Musha'sha', and to the popular appeal of the Nūrbakhshī and Ni'matullahī movements and their representative shaykhs.[28]

Khwāja Aḥrār was a particularly firm spokesman for the Straight Path. As Khwāndamīr writes in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, "He guided those who were wandering in the desert of error and he eradicated heresy with the Sharī'a."[29] Twenty-one of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters focus on the preservation and spread of the Sharī'a throughout the Timurid domain and the eradication of infidels and their customs.[30] Numerous appeals were directed to 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā

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where he evidently acquired a following that included Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. Nurbakhsh's presence in Herat provoked public debate among the notable shaykhs of Herat, including Jāmī. These incidences should be viewed within the broader questions of Timurid legitimacy and sectarianism. DeWeese reminds us that the return to Islam policies of Shāh Rukh "fostered fear and suspicion not only of apparent Shi'ite religio-political activity, but of Sufi shaykhs as well" ("Eclipse of the Kubravīya," 55). A similar set of sectarian and legitimacy issues played out during the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, whose apparent appeal to 'Alīd sentiments evoked a strong response from Naqshbandī shaykhs and the *'ulama'*. For a full discussion of Muḥammad Nurbakhsh, see Shahzad Bashir, "Between Mysticism and Messianism: The Life and Thought of Muḥammad Nurbakhsh (d. 1464)." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1998. See also Hamid Algar, "Nūrbakhshiyya," EI^2.

[28] For the religious environment in pre-Safavid Khurāsān, see B.S. Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 610-634; Devin DeWeese, "The Eclipse of the Kubraviya in Central Asia;" R.M. Savory, "A 15th-Century Safavid Propagandist at Harāt," in the *Semi-Centennial Volume of the Middle Western Branch of the American Oriental Society* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1969), 189-197; Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh," 210-236.

[29] Translation by Thackston; see HS Thackston, tome 3, 410; HS, vol. 4, 109. In comparison, in the *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Jāmī describes Anṣārī as "the champion of the Sunna" (*nāṣir al-sunna*) and "subduer of heretical innovation" (*qāmī' al-bid'a*)." Cited by Subtelny, "The Cult of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī," 383-84.

[30] See letter nos. 13, 19, 20, 24(25), 49(50), 59(62), 275(280), 280(284), 288(292), 301(305), 304(308), 305(309), 312(316), 314(318), 317, 321(325), 323(326), 324(328), 493(499), 494(500), 501(507).

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imploring them to uphold the Sharīᶜa of the Prophet Muḥammad, repeal Turko-Mongolian customs considered to be in violation of the Sharīᶜa, and carry out the obligation of all Muslim rulers to combat the enemies of the faith.

Many of his letters depict a threat to the stability of the Timurid realm and rule by foreign, infidel, and non-Islamic customs and attitudes. Khwāja Aḥrār repeatedly underscores the relationships between religion and state, and unity and peace. If the Sharīᶜa is not observed, peace and prosperity cannot be achieved and ruin will befall Islam and state. Khwāja Aḥrār writes in letter 59(62):

> The request is that [his Majesty] resolve that the strangers of religion (*bīgānegān-i dīn*) who have come near may be attacked and dispersed through the unity and concerted action of [his] relatives. With such a beneficial undertaking at hand, how can any other undertaking be permissible?

In another letter addressed to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Khwāja Aḥrār reiterates the need for unity.

> It is hoped that, with the infinite kindness of the Almighty, your honor and the *makhdūmzādas* will follow the approval of the Almighty so that the light of the Sharīᶜa may spread, and the Muslims become prosperous, [and] the eastern infidels (*kafara-yi sharqīyya*) may be removed with the help and mutual assistance of the kings, and the Muslims may be saved from them. These days the *jihād* upon which the happiness of the two worlds depends is this.[31]

In a third letter, Khwāja Aḥrār calls once again for unity.

> Insofar as the majority of Muslims occupy themselves with that which is [their] goal, namely the continuation of drawing near to God through the avoidance of worldly obstacles, unless the rulers of the lands of Muslims become of one heart and of one resolve in observing the command of God, and occupy themselves with fending off the evil of physical and spiritual enemies (*ᶜadā'-yi ṣūrī va maᶜnavī*), great difficulty may appear in connection with these lands. Requesting agreement on this issue is the duty [entailed] by [my] service.[32]

A related theme is that of the implicit relationship between the political legitimacy of the Timurids and the eradication of the infidels and their customs. As Khwāja Aḥrār writes:

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[31] Letter no. 282(286). Khwāja Aḥrār is likely referring to ᶜUmar-Shaykh, Sulṭān-Aḥmad, and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd.

[32] Letter no. 301(305).

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> There is nothing other than that [one's] deeds are such that God is satisfied [with them]; [and] the satisfaction of God is achieved only [by] conformity to the Sharīᶜa. The Sharīᶜa, at this time, means that the evil of the infidels, sinners, and debauchees (*kafara va fasaqa va fajara*) is kept far away from all provinces, through the efforts and assistance and conformity [to the Sharīᶜa]. It would be a shame for there to be descendants of a great dynasty (*khānadān-i buzurgī*) when the infidels, with thoughts of rebellion (*mukhālafa*), begin destruction.[33]

Khwāja Aḥrār interestingly uses Abū Saᶜīd as a model for such action.

> … because of the grace of the noble intention of his Majesty it came into the mind of this *faqīr* that in the same way the Almighty caused his Majesty, the late august martyred Sulṭān [Abū Saᶜīd], (May God illuminate his tomb), to remove the evil of the customs of strangers (*sharr-i rusūm-i bīgānegān*) from the region of Mawarannahr, we request your Majesty to direct [your] noble resolve to removing the evil of the customs of foreigners from that region [Khurāsān], so the benefit of kingship and power (*salṭanat va qudrat*) with which the Almighty has favored you may be made manifest.[34]

Given the political and religious environment of late fifteenth-century Mawarannahr and Khurāsān, the enemies of Islam and their customs most likely refer to two forces perceived by Khwāja Aḥrār to be equally threatening: that of heterodox ideas and that of Turko-Mongol customs. As discussed in the previous chapter, Khwāja Aḥrār spent five years in Herat during the rule of Shāh Rukh, and later visited Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd in 1460 for the purpose of abolishing the *tamghā* market tax. In the following letter, Khwāja Aḥrār refers to matters he observed that he believed posed a threat to religion and state.

> When I was in Herat, I used to see, from people with connections to [high] places, certain improper deeds (*umūr-i ghayr-mustaqīm*), which had nothing to do with this [religious] community (*bedīn millat*), but rather were causing the ruin of the religion and the community. So long as one holds fast to the strong bond of the Sunnī school *(madhhab-i sunnat va jamāᶜat*), which has been preferred by all the past generations of saints and scholars (*mukhtār-i salaf āz awlīyā' va ᶜulamā*) one cannot hold firm to something else; what will be the state of those who hold firm [to something else]?[35]

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[33] Letter no. 494(55).

[34] Letter no. 49(50).

[35] Letter no. 324(328).

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The "unsound matters" cited above may be related to the influx of Ḥurūfi or Qizilbāsh ideas into Khurāsān, or to the appearance of Shāh Qāsim Nūrbakhsh and the appeal of his ideas in Herat. Or perhaps they reflect Aḥrār's response to the inclusion of the names of the 12 *imāms* in the *khuṭba*, or the persistence of the Turko-Mongol *yarghū* courts. In the context of Mawarannahr and the frontier regions, *bīgānegān* presumably refers to the threatening presence of Turkic tribesmen, be they Uzbeks, Qazaqs, or others. A combination of all of the above factors, together with self-interest, most likely impelled Khwāja Aḥrār to become such an outspoken proponent of the Sharīᶜa.

Aḥrār's view, moreover, linked the eradication of such foreign customs (*rusūm*) to legitimate Islamic rule. Aḥrār's object in directing such appeals to the Herat court was not only to remind the Timurid rulers to uphold the Sharīᶜa, but to destroy any attempts to challenge its legal or moral authority. This could only be accomplished through the reassertion and spread of Islamic law, the destruction of Turko-Mongolian customs (referred to as "customs of foreigners," or *rusūm-i bīgānegān*), the thwarting of heterodox ideas, and the unified military conquest of those infidels who threatened religion and state.

2. Patronage Relations

The record of correspondence in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* provides strong evidence of a lively network of relationships between the Samarqand Naqshbandīya and the Timurid court. Although the eminent status of the recipients, most notably ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā gives the collection immediate historical importance, of at least equal importance is its testimony to a steady stream of envoys, travelers, officials, Sufis, migrants, students, and traders who regularly journeyed across the Amū Daryā to Khurāsān and vice versa, some of whom sought the patronage of Khwāja Aḥrār and other shaykhs to assist them in achieving their objectives.

The acts of writing requests and petitions and the granting of favor were, for Khwāja Aḥrār and his associates, pious acts of moral rectitude and religious duty, and the letters remind their addressees that the fulfillment of those requests will bring the reward of worldly and spiritual fortune and closeness to God. It is, however, the spiritual prestige, influence, and status of shaykhs such as Khwāja Aḥrār, ᶜAbd al-Avval, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, Mawlānā Qāsim, and

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others, that enabled the feeble, the oppressed, the descendants of noble families, the students, the companions, and the families to be heard. As Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes in one of his petitions,

> Showing kindness to the condition of the helpless ones is among the best [sources] of hopefulness from the holy Lord of Majesty. He has a petition (*ᶜarża-dashtī*). For God and in God, may you give it careful consideration. From God a fine reward and abundant merit is [to be] envisioned; and the matter is the highest [in importance].[36]

Khwāja Aḥrār reiterates this view when he writes to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī of his obligation to support the welfare of the Muslim populace as well as the Khwājagān.

> Inasmuch as God Almighty has ennobled [you] with the honor of bonds of affection with the great family [of the Timurids] (*khānadān-i buzurg*), you should take the burden of the Khwājagān upon yourself and lose yourself in the affairs of the Muslims so that you may be ennobled with the honor of blessings in return.[37]

One of the most noteworthy findings of the study of this collection is the extent to which Sufi patronage relations defined broad sets of local and regional social networks that embodied the elite as well as common circles of Timurid society. Previous studies of the Aḥrārī community, based largely on hagiographical sources, have drawn the outline for such relations. The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* significantly expands our knowledge of what appears to be a routinized pattern of appeals whereby Sufi shaykhs exerted their influence and authority in obtaining material support, royal decrees and permissions, tax relief, appointments, and protection.[38] The record also reveals that the closest and most influential of Khwāja Aḥrār's companions were equally involved in the appeals process, not only as representatives of Khwāja Aḥrār, but as responsible figures in their own right. Finally, the letters of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, a personage about whom we unfortunately know little, shed further light on patronage relations in Khurāsān.

Of the 257 letters in the album, 77 are general requests of favor, 45 of which are those of Khwāja Aḥrār. Most of the 77 are "letters of

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[36] Letter no. 463(469).

[37] Letter no. 545(551).

[38] Evidence for such patterns may also be found in Urunbaev's *Pis'ma-avtografy*, the letters of Jāmī.

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recommendation" written on behalf of individuals intending to appear before the Timurid court for a variety of unspecified reasons. Second in number to those general requests of favor written by Khwāja Aḥrār are those written by his disciples who were most active in the administration of the *khānqāh*, namely Khwāja ᶜAlī, Mawlānā Qāsim, and ᶜAbd al-Avval.

Other requests and petitions are of a more specific nature, and may be grouped according to broad categories.[39] Those categories include petitions for the material support of students, disciples, and Sufi communities; for the reunification of families; for travel permits; for relief from oppression or injustice; for the appointment of individuals of prominent families to various offices; and for personal favors on behalf of family members.

Material Support

Given his distaste for the dependency of the Herati shaykhs on the good graces of the powerful *amīrs* and rulers, it is not surprising to find that the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār are not found among those concerned with the material support of disciples or students. They are found, however, in the letters of the Khurāsānī shaykh, teacher, and possible administrator, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, and the prominent members of the Samarqand Naqshbandīya, Mawlānā Qāsim, Khwāja ᶜAlī, and ᶜAbd al-Avval. Letters that concern gifts or votive offerings provide indisputable evidence that ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, and possibly other members of the court elite such as ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, received such appeals and, in response, made contributions for the benefit of students, shaykhs, Sufi communities, and *ᶜulamā*. A number of letters confirm the receipt of specific contributions, while others appeal on behalf of devotees, descendants of eminent shaykhs, or poverty stricken students.

Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn made twelve such appeals on behalf of students and scholars, some of whom were descendants of prominent shaykhs or scholars.[40] For example, in letter no. 467(473), which was

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[39] These categories should not be considered as inclusive, but rather reflective of the main themes.

[40] See letter nos. 424(430), 426(431), 428(433), 437(442), 452(458), 458(464), 467(473), 473(479), 476(482), 477(483), 478(484), 479(485).

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most likely directed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, he writes on behalf of Mawlānā Maḥmūd Khwāfī, the son of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī,

> ... the bearer of this letter, Mawlānā Maḥmūd Khwāfī, son of Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn, [the sign of] God's favor, is engaged in studying the *Mukhtaṣar-i Talkhīṣ* and jurisprudence. He lives in poverty and is a resident in the *khānqāh* of ᶜAbdullāh Ansārī. It is requested and expected from the magnanimous disposition of your eminence that you will be so kind as to command that from the aforementioned *khānqāh*, a stipend (*vaẓīfa*) [be assigned to him] of an amount sufficient for him to engage freely in [his studies] and not be distracted.[41]

In another letter, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes on behalf of ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Fīrūzābādī, his disciple and a Qur'ān reader, who is "extremely poor and in need."[42] Another example is a jointly authored letter by Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī, written at Khwāja Aḥrār's behest, to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā on behalf of a Ḥāmmūyī descendant who arrived in Samarqand.[43]

Other letters report the receipt of gifts, stipends, or offerings. For example, ᶜAbd al-Avval and Qāsim jointly report that " ... the best of gifts and presents that [you] had sent found the path of arrival in the finest fashion, and after their arrival it also met with acceptance in the loveliest way."[44] Khwāja ᶜAlī reports that the delivery of five hundred *tangas* by Khwāja Muḥammad was entrusted to the Khwājagān.[45] In another letter, Khwāja ᶜAlī reports, apparently to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, that the one hundred *tangas* which he had sent for Mawlānā Sāmī had arrived.[46] And Sūfī ᶜAlī reports that " ... of the

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[41] Khwāja Aḥrār spent time in companionship *(ṣuḥbat)* with Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī during his five years in Herat. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn refers here to Gāzurgāh, the shrine complex of Anṣārī that enjoyed a revival under Shāh Rukh, and especially under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā actually claimed descent from Anṣārī and he built a funerary memorial for his father, uncle, and brothers in the courtyard of Gāzurgāh (Subtelny, "The Cult of ᶜAbdullāh Anṣārī under the Timurids," 386-391). See also Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah* (Toronto, 1969). Subtelny discusses the references to the shrine's endowments, 392-394. It is possible that Khwāja Aḥrār was appealing to Navā'ī to use his own personal funds to support a stipend for Mawlānā Maḥmūd Khwāfī, as he is known to have done for others (Subtelny, "The Cult of ᶜAbdullāh Anṣārī," 398).

[42] Letter no. 477(483).

[43] Letter no. 586(592).

[44] Letter no. 571(577).

[45] Letter no. 578(584a,b).

[46] Letter no. 561(567).

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amount that was sent for the travel expenses of the dervishes, the sum of 600 dinars has reached the dervishes. Darvīsh Maḥmūd has the other 400 dinars."[47]

One of the more revealing letters is one written by ᶜAbd al-Avval in which he discusses the votive offerings (*nadhr*) directed to the son of Amīr Yūsuf ᶜAṭṭār, Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn. The letter demonstrates the competition among shaykhs over the gifts, offerings, and grants that were given to them. ᶜAbd al-Avval petitions Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to make sure to specifically designate to Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn any votive gifts and business that are sent to the *khānqāh* on his behalf. This is to prevent anyone from causing " ... obstruction by appropriating [them], and so that [the issue] may not reach the point of dispute and hostility."[48]

Three letters, all written by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Din, are petitions for the appropriation of endowment revenues for the benefit of Sufis. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Din writes to ᶜAlī Shīr Navāᶜī on behalf of a group of *faqīrs* who had left their homes to study and have no source of income. He reports that the students occasionally receive some stipend from the *khānqāh* and requests a royal order (*parvāna-yi ᶜināyat*) directing that the income of the endowment of this unnamed *khānqāh* (presumably in Khurāsān) be used as a stipend for those needy students; he additionally requests that they be exempted from the *barāt*.[49]

A second letter concerns a mosque in Gavāshān (near Herat) which is situated on crown land (*zamīn-i khāliṣa*).

> There is a mosque in Gavāshān, in the quarter (*maḥalla*) of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn, on crown land (*zamīn-i khāliṣa*); a group of dervishes wishes to use that land as a retreat (*muᶜtakaf*). [However,] because the land on which the mosque is located is crown land (*khāliṣa*), the *ᶜulamā* will not give permission. If his Royal Majesty ... will make this land on which the mosque is located, that is in the vicinity of that mosque, and some of the crown land *vaqf* for the mosque, in accordance with legal practice (*bi ḥasb-i sharᶜ*), then that mosque may become flourishing, the members of the community who are present in that mosque will be able to pray for the continuation of the state and the

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[47] Letter no. 422(428).

[48] Letter no. 590(596).

[49] Letter no. 433(438). The *barāt* is a form of revenue assignment. See I. P. Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie i agrarnye otnosheniia v Irane XIII-XIV vekov* (Moscow, 1960), 346.

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> increase of power of his Majesty, and it will become the reason for the increase of the power of his eminence.[50]

In addition to the evidence it provides for Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's intervention in the appropriation of endowments, the letter cited above raises questions regarding the creation of endowed land from crown land, since only private property (*milk*) can be used to create a pious endowment.[51]

Relief from Oppression or Injustice

One of the standard responsibilities of the Sufis is to prevent oppression or injustice enacted against Muslims, although the extent of their actions in order to achieve that goal may vary. In alignment with the activist, Sharī'a-minded stance of the Naqshbandīya under the leadership of Khwāja Aḥrār, a number of letters in the *Majmū'a-yi murāsalāt* seek redress for individuals suffering some type of hardship, injustice, or oppression. Many concern property issues and taxation, others concern lawsuits.[52]

All of the letters are written by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, with the exception of one by Muḥammad Tabādkānī, another prominent Herati shaykh who had close relations with 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī.[53] Although the regions are unspecified, since they both lived in the Herat region, they are likely situated in Herat. The topics of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's letters include a request for an investigation and adjudication of the excessive and harsh treatment, in violation of the Sharī'a, in a matter involving an unnamed woman.[54] Another petition

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[50] Letter no. 455(461).

[51] In her forthcoming book, Maria Subtelny discusses an innovative "buy back procedure" implemented by the Timurid rulers that enabled them to convert crown land into private property (*milk*) and then convert it, if they so desired, into a pious endowment (Subtelny, "The Logic of Shrine Development," in *The Transformation of the Timurid State* [forthcoming]).

[52] Although relevant to this section, letters concerning tax relief will be discussed under the topic of economic history.

[53] Five of Muḥammad Tabādkānī's letters are included in the *Majmū'a-yi murāsalāt*. See Chapter 3, author #6. Here Tabādkānī requests an investigation into a bloody incident that was carried out by a group of perpetrators (*lavandān*) on the night of 'Īd [Letter no. 420(426)].

[54] Letter no. 456(462a,b). Although speculative, this may be the same "virtuous *sayyida* of noble birth" who Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn reports as being oppressed by a powerful group in the village of Karūcha, which prevents her from carrying out her lawful business (*muhimm-i shar'ī*). Karūcha is located in the *vilāyat* of Shāfilān,

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concerns a lawsuit brought by a "rebellious" Mawlānā Junayd against his relatives in the *vilāyat* of Ṭabas. He requests an order from the Sulṭān to ensure that no one will bother him or his household, so that they may safely reach Herat.[55]

A number of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's letters concern the dire economic circumstances in which various people found themselves. It is unclear whether the cause of their ruin was due to the burden of taxation, drought, famine, or personal circumstances. For example, he writes on behalf of some "old devotees" who report to him that some of the fields in their village are cultivated, but others lie fallow.

> "Because ruin has befallen the state of those people, the request is that the servitors turn their attention to the situation about which they report and consider it carefully. A fine reward from God and much gratitude from the people may be expected."[56]

Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn also writes to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī about a certain village from which many people have fled.

> If you would turn [your] noble mind [to this], perhaps a community would appear again among those ruins whose people are good Sunnis and people of piety; and there were scholars and pious people in that village, and they are still there now. May the blessing of good words and noble deeds be increased for them by God hour by hour.[57]

Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes to inform the addressee in letter no. 382(388) that "Due to the vicissitudes of fate and the events of time, complete disorder has afflicted the servitors of the mentioned honorable one." He continues, "To correct and adjust this is difficult without the help and favor of the servitors [of your honor].... " Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn appeals to the custom of "care and fulfilling vows (*riᶜāyat va taᶜahhud*) of old families" to ensure that he will be favored and kept under the shadow of protection (*ḥimāyat*).

Based on their content, some letters imply that excessive taxation or tax abuse was also a cause for complaint. Since the references are often rather oblique, this conclusion is necessarily conjectural. For example, in letter no. 471(477), Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn reports

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south of Herat, see letter no. 423(429).

[55] Letter no. 425(431).

[56] Letter no. 453(459).

[57] Letter no. 451(457).

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that the bearers of the letter "are pious dervishes" whose oppression is so severe that they have abandoned their native land. The dervishes complain that someone had " ... seized a sum of money" from them. In response, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn requests an investigation of their complaint so the addressee may "hold back the hand of the oppressors from the oppressed." On another occasion, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes to Navā'ī on behalf of an individual who complains that "certain people, in contravention to the immaculate Sharīᶜa, have committed violence and oppression against the bearer." And in letter no. 470(476), Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes on behalf of a Khwāja Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥājjī Sulṭān to expedite a review of the behavior of some officials (*navvabs*). According to the letter, the Khwāja had tried for one year and seven months to seek a resolution to the case, but no judgment had been made. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn requests from the servants that, " ... as a favor, since no one returns from this court dejected, you issue a judgment (*ḥukm*) about his affair and, in accordance with divine satisfaction, you arrange it so that he may return to his native country with his face radiant from his aim of acquitted honor, having achieved his goal ... "

Travel, Migration and the Reunification of Families

Forty letters in the collection concern either travel, migration, or the reunification of families that are separated between Khurāsān and Mawarannahr. Although the authors do not always explicitly express it, it is understood that much merit is to be gained from showing compassion in the restoration of family ties. Such letters demonstrate the seemingly common intermediary role often played by the Samarqand Naqshbandī shaykhs in obtaining permission on behalf of grieving families who miss their relatives. With regard to the reunification of families, the letters may be divided into three broad categories: those concerning individuals or groups in the service of the court or a prince; those concerning families separated due to hardship; and those concerning relatives who desire to visit their loved ones in Khurāsān but whose situation is unspecified.

Eighteen letters of Khwāja Aḥrār are petitions for permission to reunite divided families.[58] Several appear to involve individuals who have traveled to Herat on Khwāja Aḥrār's behalf and have remained

[58] See letter nos. 17 and 55(57), for example.

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there and whose relatives have appealed to Khwāja Aḥrār because of the difficulty of their separation.

A number of letters are petitions written on behalf of individuals seeking permission for their relatives who serve at the Timurid court in Herat to return to Mawarannahr.[59] For example, Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī write, at Khwāja Aḥrār's behest, on behalf of a tutor (*ataka*) and wet nurse (*anaka*) whose son serves at the court in Herat.[60] In another letter, Khwāja ᶜAlī writes on behalf of the mother of the prince, Amīr Pīr-Muḥammad Atilmish, to petition the court for permission for her son to return to Samarqand where his children are located.[61] Khwāja Aḥrār writes two letters on behalf of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Murād's tutor and other member's of his retinue, who all remain in Herat. Their families sought Khwāja Aḥrār's assistance in securing permission for them to return to their respective families.

In another case, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlā' al-ᶜAṭṭār writes on behalf of some people of Qublāy(?) who emigrated from Mawarannahr "because of events of the time." He petitions for their permission to return because " ... they have close relations and children who are burned by the fire of separation and drowned in the sea of longing [to be with them]."[62]

In letter no. 558(564), Khwāja ᶜAlī writes that a number of families were granted permission to migrate to Mawarannahr. Two additional letters of Khwāja Aḥrār draw attention to the practice of forced migrations in the Timurid period. Families of Mawarannahr were apparently ordered to leave their homes for Khwārazm. Khwāja Aḥrār voices his opposition to that practice, writing

> ... the petition of this *faqīr* is that if God Almighty should wish the province of Khwārazm to become prosperous, it will happen without the Muslims who have settled [in Khurāsān] leaving their country and

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[59] See letter nos. 486(492), 391(397-98), 562(568), 457(463), 562(568), 487(493). 496(502(, 541(547)

[60] Letter no. 391(397-8).

[61] Letter no. 562(568). Sulṭān Murād is one of Abū Saᶜīd's ten surviving sons (HS, vol. 3, 626; vol. 4, 94). Muᶜīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawżat al-jannāt fī awṣaf madīnat-i Harāt.*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim-i Imām (Tehran), 324.

[62] Letter no. 482(488). The reading of the place name is not exact since the text is unclear. Based on the content of the letter, it is likely to have been located in Mawarannahr, but there is no such name listed in Ḥāfiẓ-i Ābrū's *Jughrāfīyā* (Tehran, 1349/1970).

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> becoming separated from one another. The request is that [your] noble mind be directed to ensure that Muslims are not displaced (*bī jā nashavand*) from their familiar homelands (*awṭān-i ma'lūfa*). The honorable bearer of this letter of supplication and his relatives have a longstanding acquaintance and friendship with this *faqīr*; the request is that they be spared the upheaval of [having to] move (*tafriqa-yi kūch*) to Khwārazm [merely] because their ancestors were from that province.[63]

Petitions for travel permits were standard fare for Sufis embarking on pilgrimages or spiritual journeys. Three letters in the collection specifically request permission for disciples who wish to go on Ḥajj to Mecca.[64] Additional letters are petitions seeking permission (*ijāzat*) for the followers of Khwāja Aḥrār to travel for study, and one is for medical treatment in Herat.[65]

Appointments To Offices

Two letters of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn provide further evidence that he may have held an administrative post of some kind. The first concerns the appointment of the *mutavallī* of the shrine of Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn petitions on behalf of the Shaykhzāda Zayn al-ᶜAbidīn, one of the descendants of Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār. He writes, " ... the *imāms* have written in a *fatwā* that the *mutavallī* at the holy shrine of the Shaykh al-Islām must be dismissed; and as required by the *fatwā* of the *imāms* of the faith ... the office of *mutavallī* of that [shrine] should go to the aforementioned Shaykhzāda Zayd al-ᶜĀbidīn."[66]

A second petition concerns the improper dismissal and requested reappointment of an official in the town of Gudāra, a district in Khurāsān. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn reminds the addressee that "in every village and quarter the *imām* and *shaykh al-Islām* of that town or quarter conducts marriage contracts in accordance with the Sharīᶜa, and [that] since the official (*maᶜmūr*) in that quarter or village is knowledgeable, they should not entrust [it] specially to someone [else]. And make it the responsibility of the *qāżī* and *muḥtasib*

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[63] Letter no. 551(558).

[64] See letter nos. 483(489), 569(575), 439(444).

[65] See, for example, letter nos. 307(311), 379(385), 384(390), 543(549), 568(574). For a travel request due to medical needs, see letter no. 567(573).

[66] Letter no. 438(443, 445).

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of that place to be informed and to not allow any matter contrary to the law (*amr-i khilāf-i shar*ᶜ) to occur."[67]

A final letter, written by the Heratī shaykh, Muḥammad Tabādkānī, concerns the hereditary appointment of Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ziyāratgāhī as the *khiṭābat-i ziyāratgāhī* or preacher at an unnamed shrine. Tabādkānī petitions for a reprimand because he was dismissed from his position and assigned to a new Friday mosque.[68]

The Family of ᶜAbd al-Avval

One of the most illustrative examples of patronage relations between the Samarqand Naqshbandīya and the Herat court is the favor that was extended to the family of ᶜAbd al-Avval in Khurāsān in response to petitions made by Khwāja Aḥrār's most prominent disciples.[69] Originally from Nīshāpūr, ᶜAbd al-Avval was one of Khwāja Aḥrār's closest companions as well as his son-in-law. He is also the author of one of Khwāja Aḥrār's biographies, the *Masmūᶜāt*. A letter of Khwāja ᶜAlī to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī provides evidence of the close relationship between Khwāja Aḥrār and ᶜAbd al-Avval. He writes, "I am certain that he [Khwāja Aḥrār] regards him as more beloved and more dear than his previous children, and no one among the servitors has [approached] the level of the holy [*sayyid*] in closeness to the holy Khwāja, and no one by far."[70]

Thirteen letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* concern the family and property of ᶜAbd al-Avval and the situation of his brother, Abū'l-Ghayth, one by Mawlānā Qāsim, one by Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī, one by Mawlānā Qāsim and ᶜAbd al-Avval, three by Khwāja ᶜAlī, and seven by ᶜAbd al-Avval himself.[71] Letter no. 593(600) of Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī, and 388(394) of Mawlānā Qāsim and ᶜAbd al-Avval, provide the circumstances of the family's financial difficulties, the details of which will be discussed below in the context

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[67] Letter no. 434(439).

[68] Letter no. 418(424).

[69] In letter no. 383(389a,b), ᶜAbd al-Avval writes that his brother, Abū'l-Ghayth is a descendant of *naqībs*, a possible allusion to Sayyid Atā'ī descent.

[70] Letter no. 582(588).

[71] Letter no. 575(581) by Mawlānā Qāsim; letter no. 593(600) by Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī; letter nos. 582(588), 591(598), 592(599) by Khwāja ᶜAlī; 388(394) by Khwāja Qāsim and ᶜAbd al-Avval; letter nos. 375(381), 376(382a,b), 377(383a,b), 381(387), 383(389a,b), 576(582), 589(595) by ᶜAbd al-Avval.

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of property issues. As a result of their circumstances, much to the chagrin and embarrassment of 'Abd al-Avval, family members sold parts of the family *vaqf*. In response to 'Abd al-Avval's family problems, his companions made several requests regarding the payment of revenue assignments from endowed properties, protection against tax collectors, and general favor toward his family members in Khurāsān. Numerous letters by 'Abd al-Avval and his companions express their gratitude for his patronage by the Timurid court. In his own letters, 'Abd al-Avval reports his receipt of family correspondence in which the details of favors shown to the family are revealed.

Petitions made on 'Abd al-Avval's behalf include the delivery of revenue assignments from endowed properties to his brothers, Amīr Sayyid Nāṣir al-Din 'Alī and Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth, protection from oppressive tax collectors, and favor shown to his brother Abū'l-Ghayth in Herat.[72] Although the addressees of the letters are not always self-evident, many, if not most of them, seem to have been directed to 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī.

Although none of the letters described above were written by Khwāja Aḥrār himself, it is reasonable to assume that they were written at his behest, or at the very least, with his knowledge. They show not only that 'Abd al-Avval was held in high regard, both within the Samarqand Naqshbandī community and within Herat circles, but also that the solidarity of the Samarqand Naqshbandī community included not only the residents of the *Muḥawwaṭa-yi mullāyān*, but extended beyond to the well-being of their families outside the confines of Samarqand.

3. The Economic Sphere

The economic role of Khwāja Aḥrār as the founder and administrator of endowments (*awqāf*) and as a landowner and philanthropist has been discussed in the previous chapter. The letters in the *Majmū'a-yi murāsalāt* further broaden our knowledge of the economic role and influence of Naqshbandī shaykhs in late Timurid society.[73]

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[72] Abū'l-Ghayth eventually moved to Herat, which undoubtedly put him in an even better position to receive the patronage and support of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī and the court.

[73] This section of the chapter is partially based on Jo-Ann Gross's "Naqshbandi Appeals to the Herat Court: A Preliminary Study of Trade and Property Issues," in

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Trade

Six letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* concern trade transactions and/or merchants, two written by Khwāja Aḥrār, two by Khwāja ᶜAlī, one by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, and one by Mawlānā Qāsim.[74] Three letters in the album refer to the delivery of Khwāja Aḥrār's goods to Herat for sale.[75] Two of the letters are petitions to the court to grant favor and protection (*ḥimāyat*) to guarantee the success of the transactions; one requests the issue of a royal directive to ensure the completion of the transaction.

In a letter written by Khwāja ᶜAlī concerning Sulṭān-Maḥmūd's conflict with his brothers and the hope for a peaceful settlement, he writes,

> ... the holy Khwāja wrote a letter and sent [it to you in Khurāsān] along with one of his followers, Mawlāna ᶜAbd al-Karīm, several assloads of paper, sesame, rice, cotton, and other [goods] which belong to the holy Khwāja (*taᶜalluq bi Ḥażrat-i Khwāja*). If, through the grace of [your] being, a royal directive (*ishārat-i ᶜalā*) were given to the servitors so that they would attend to appealing to the noble mind [of his Majesty] regarding the accomplishment of the affairs of the holy Khwāja ... it would be an extraordinary and exceptional kindness.[76]

Khwāja ᶜAlī wrote another letter to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī in which he refers to Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAlī as "among the close friends and associates of the holy Khwāja ... " who "has set out for that side (to Herat) for the sake of trade (*be-rasm-i sawdā*) and will be ennobled with the honor of coming before [you]."[77]Another letter, written by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, requests a travel certificate for a "distinguished descendant" of Abī[sic]'l-Qāsim Samarqandī, who has financial troubles and resides in Herat. He wishes to leave his household (*kūch*) in his native Samarqand, and to go to Gulbarga in India on trade business. He also requests a recommendation to the *Malik al-tujjār* in Gulbarga.[78]

Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel, ed. by Devin DeWeese (Bloomington), 113-128.

[74] Letter nos. 54(55), 313(317), 560(566), 386(392), 429(434), and 389(395) respectively.

[75] Letter nos. 313(317), 386(392), and 389(395).

[76] Letter no. 386(392).

[77] Letter no. 560(566).

[78] Letter no. 429(434). Gulbarga (Karnataka), located in the Deccan, was the

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Although it is unclear to what extent interregional trade was integrated into the organizational framework of the Samarqand Naqshbandīya, the letters and biographical sources suggest that the Naqshbandī communities in Herat and Samarqand provided a conduit for the exchange of goods that was related to the extensive economic organization in the Samarqand Naqshbandī community, the tacit approval of the Timurid rulers, the efficacy of trade routes, and the impetus of Khwāja Aḥrār from whom direction for such transactions were emanating. The occurrence of these interregional contacts, furthermore, coincided with the geographical expansion of the Naqshbandīya.[79]

Taxation

Khwāja Aḥrār's biographers report that on a number of occasions he made large tax payments on behalf of overburdened townspeople and also made donations on behalf of the needy. On one such occasion, for example, Khwāja Aḥrār paid 250,000 dinars, and later another 70,000 dinars to relieve the Tashkent residents from the payment of taxes for one year during the rule of ᶜUmar-Shaykh.[80] Of the 257 letters in the album, nine concern tax relief, only three of which were written by Khwāja Aḥrār.[81] One is a petition for release from the

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capital of the Bahmanī Sultanate until the 15th century, when the capital was moved to Bidar.

[79] There are a number of hagiographical references that touch upon trade. In the *Rashaḥāt*, Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī mentions Khwāja Muṣṭafā-yi Rūmī as "a merchant (*tājir*) who was one of the employees (*kārgarān*) of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān," who set out on a trade mission from Bukhara to Samarqand via Shahr-i Sabz, stopping there to meet with Mīrak Ḥasan, chief of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Aḥmad's finance office (*dīvān*). Another merchant (*bāzargānī*) named Ḥājjī ᶜAlī Rūmī, is the subject of a petition of Khwāja Aḥrār in which he requests the servitors of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to give Rūmī permission to go to his own region (presumably Asia Minor, judging from his *nisba).* See *Rashaḥāt*, vol., 2, 537; *Majmūᶜa*, fol. 7b, letter no. 54(55). The *Rashaḥāt* also includes reference to the participation of persons in the household and/or employment of Khwāja Aḥrār in trade transactions, for example a certain "Khidmat-i Mawlānā Najm al-Dīn who was a Sufi from among the servants (*khādimān*) and employees (*kārgarān*) of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān, and often used to attend to trade affairs and handled a lot of money ... " *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 536.

[80] *Manāqib*, fol. 132.

[81] For a discussion of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* as a source for the study of taxation in fifteenth-century Khurāsān, see Asom Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografy iz "Al'boma Navoi" - istochnik po izucheniiu nalogooblozhenie v Khorasane XV v," 121-157.

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nāmbardār poll tax, which was considered to be non-canonical by the religious class, of an unnamed individual.[82] The second letter of Khwāja Aḥrār is a petition written on behalf of Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād, who had been Aḥrār's guest in Samarqand, in which he requests that " ... his children may live peaceably in the shadow of protection (*ḥimāyat*) of your honor [in Herat] and not be burdened because of the *raᶜiyatī* tax. During the time of his Royal Majesty, the lamented martyr [Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd], they had obtained consideration in some way."[83]

Khwāja ᶜAlī also appeals to the servitors of the court to grant an audience to the family of ᶜAbd al-Avval, whose members he claims need protection from "the oppression of the officials (*ẓulm-i ᶜummāl*) and from the wickedness of other evil ones (*ashrār*).[84] The remaining six letters concerning taxation were all written by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn and include requests for investigations into complaints as well as calls for the exemption of specific taxes.[85] For example, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes on behalf of Mawlānā ᶜImād al-Dīn Aḥmad's student, who cannot study because of the heavy burden of the *ḥavālat* and *ᶜavāriẓāt*.[86] He writes, "If the felicity of the refuge of favors [the addressee, ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī] is employed to remedy his desolation—for he is a man of noble birth and among the notables of Quhistān—his hope is that it will be the cause for good fortune in the two worlds, and will not be in vain with God."[87]

Two other letters concern a dispute over the payment of taxes in the village of Jāvīr. The tax collection of the village's *māl* and *ikhrājāt* taxes had apparently been turned over to Ṭabas and, in anger, the Sufis of the village complained directly to the *dīvān-i aᶜlā*, in response to which an *ilchī* was dispatched from Herat. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn intervened, negotiated the apology of the penitent Sufis, and asked for the postponement of the *ilchī* so the villagers could appear

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[82] Letter no. 500(506). Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Din also petitions ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī for the exemption of a sayyid named Mawlānā Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Imām from the *nāmbardār* poll tax, no. 430(435).

[83] Letter no. 535(541).

[84] Letter no. 591(598).

[85] See letter nos. 430(435), 432(437), 464(470), 468(474), 474(480), 481(487).

[86] *Ḥavālat* is a revenue assignment or tax check issued by the state for civil officials and the *ᶜavāriẓāt* is an extraordinary tax levied on the populace.

[87] Letter no. 468(474).

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before the court. He petitioned on behalf of the villagers of Jāvīr to enable them to " ... attend to their affairs in tranquility, and that they may be able to engage in praying for the perpetuation of [your] good fortune." [88]

Another letter concerns a Sufi who is the muezzin at the Fīrūzābād mosque in Qāyin (in the region of Quhistān) who lacks a stipend (*vaẓīfa*). Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes, "It is expected from [your] unfailing generosity that he be supported, like other *faqīrs*, with a bare subsistence (*sadd-i ramaq*) through a *vaqf* or some other source. He says, "I have 1 1/2 jarībs of cultivated land (*zirāᶜat*) but contrary to the legal ruling (*khilāf-i ḥukm*) they have made [that land] subject to the issuance of tax checks (*ḥavālāt mikonand*). If the administrators (*khuddām*) also remedy that [situation] it shall be the cause for the increase of the means of happiness in the two worlds."[89] Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn thus petitions for two forms of relief, a stipend from an endowment and tax relief.

In one last letter Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn requests that ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī investigate the oppressive *vārid* import tax levied on a certain Shaykh Bāyazīd in the province of Quhistān. He ends with the following exhortation, "Since I trust in [your] kindness and mercy towards the downtrodden and oppressed, and [your] repulse and obstruction of transgressors and oppressors (*mutaᶜādīān va ẓālimān*), I will not go on at length."[90]

Property and Endowments

Five of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters concern property issues. One letter, addressed to the servitors, is a simple petition indicating that some persons of his household (*mutaᶜalliqān va kasān*) want to purchase private property (*milk*) in Khurāsān. He asks for the servitors' support in making this possible.[91] In a second letter, Khwāja Aḥrār writes on behalf of a certain Amīr ᶜAbd al-Vahhāb who had been sent by the Sulṭān to Mawarannahr, and now wants to sell his property (*milkī)* and residential compound (*ḥavālī)* in Khurāsān.[92] In a third letter,

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[88] Letter nos. 474(480), 481(487).

[89] Letter no. 432(437).

[90] Letter no. 464(470).

[91] Letter no. 267(272).

[92] Letter no. 22(23).

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Khwāja Aḥrār makes a request on behalf of a Samarqandī who owns some private property (*milkī chand*) in Khurāsān. Khwāja Aḥrār asks for the support of the servitors of the court (*mulāzimān*) in helping him settle his affairs.[93]

Khwāja Aḥrār writes another petition on behalf of an individual living in Samarqand whose family was originally from Herat and now seeks to reclaim properties there. He states,

> Amīr Tīmūr brought his forefathers [to Samarqand] and appointed [them] to serve in various towns. They had personal moveable and immovable properties (*asbāb va amlāk*) on that side [Khurāsān]. [Now] he is experiencing a little poverty. In order to retrieve something from those possessions, he is setting out to that side. I trust that if his possessions, contrary to the Sharīᶜa (*bi-khilāf-i Sharīᶜa*), are in the hands of [other] people, something will come to him, through the favor of the noble minds of the servitors; he is heading for Mecca."[94]

Khwāja Aḥrār also appealed to the Herat court regarding an inheritance case. A certain Amīr Muḥammad ᶜAlī Bakhshī had an estate (*ḥavālī*) and underground canal (*kārīz*) that were bequeathed to his young children; Khwāja Aḥrār requests that the estate be left to Amīr Muḥammad ᶜAlī Bakhshī, and the *kārīz* to his young children.[95]

Aḥrār's son, Muḥammad Yaḥyā, also wrote two letters regarding the estate of Paḥlavān Saᶜd al-Dīn, who died in Mashhad.[96] His son, Khwāja Żiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was living in Samarqand and was possibly a disciple, was departing for Khurāsān to settle his estate. Yaḥyā requests that the servitors ensure that the property is conveyed to his son.

One final letter involving property is written by Muḥammad Tabādkānī, and concerns the cultivation of fields (*zirāᶜat-i mawżaᶜ*) in the hamlet of Gavāja(?).[97] He writes that the arrangement whereby the fields had come to belong to (*taᶜalluq*) the dervishes had been suspended for no apparent reason. Evidently over time, the cultivation

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[93] Letter no. 311(315).

[94] Letter no. 442(448).

[95] Letter no. 548(554-555).

[96] Letter nos. 443(449), 444(450).

[97] Letter no. 421(427). The name is only partially legible; it might be read as "Gavāja" or "Kavāja," but there is no such place name to our knowledge. Since Tabādkānī was a resident of Herat it is likely that the village was located in the Herat region.

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and possibly the administration of the land had come into the hands of the Sufis. The letter sheds light on the kinds of informal property arrangements that most likely existed in many villages.

The published *vaqfiyyas* of Khwāja Aḥrār provide the most detailed evidence of his endowed properties, and they serve as a major source for understanding the political economy of dynastic families in Central Asia. In contrast to *vaqfiyyas*, six letters from the *Majmū'a-yi murāsalāt* contain circumstantial evidence of the broader questions concerning the administration and foundation of endowments. Nevertheless, that evidence demonstrates that individuals, including Naqshbandī shaykhs, pressed Timurid rulers and courtiers such as Navā'ī to assign specific *vaqf* revenues to those individuals and groups that they deemed particularly needy.

One example of intervention in the assignment and distribution of *vaqf* revenues concerns 'Abd al-Avval and his family in Khurāsān, as mentioned above. 'Abd al-Avval explains in letter no. 375(381) that the family *vaqf* (*vaqf-i awlād*) of Khānshāh, which had been endowed by his father forty years earlier, had been sold, contrary to the Sharī'a, by some of his relatives. He explains, furthermore, that someone acting as 'Abd al-Avval's agent, bought a parcel of the land and was farming it in 'Abd al-Avval's name. Distressed by their actions and the moral and legal implications of them, 'Abd al-Avval convinced his relatives to apply the income from the land to buy it back and thus restore the endowment. 'Abd al-Avval stresses the fact that his relatives sold the land because of their dire financial circumstances. We find a clue as to why the relatives sold parts of the endowment from another letter which was jointly written by Mawlānā Qāsim and 'Abd al-Avval, in which they explain that the family had "suffered much turmoil" during the rule of Mīrzā Abū'l-Qāsim Bābur, grandson of Shāh Rukh.[98] 'Abd al-Avval's close associates wrote a number of petitions on behalf of 'Abd al-Avval's family in Khurāsān, particularly on behalf of his brother Abū'l-Ghayth, to help improve their financial condition.[99] Although the nature of the patronage and support provided for 'Abd al-Avval's family is not

[98] See letter no. 338(394).

[99] Three of Khwāja 'Alī's letters concern the relatives of 'Abd al-Avval. See letter nos. 582(588), 591(598), and 592(599), 593(600). A number of 'Abd al-Avval's own letters concern matters related to the family of 'Abd al-Avval, specifically to his brother, Abū'l-Ghayth. See letter nos. 375(381), 376(382), 381(387), 589(595).

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always specified, we may gather on the basis of two letters that it included the assignment of revenues and tax exemptions.[100] Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī begin one of their letters with the prayers and salutations conveyed by ᶜAbd al-Avval and state that they are "embarrassed by the perfect kindnesses and favors that have been shown with respect to [his] relatives...." The authors continue with their request, which is "that the servitors would show kindness and favorable attention so that that which has been designated for the honorable refuge of *sayyid*-ship, Amīr Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn ᶜAlī and [for] Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth from the endowments (*awqāf*) may be conveyed to them."[101]

In another letter, which was mentioned above, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Din petitions on behalf of students who have emigrated from their homeland to study and have no source of income. He writes,

> Among the endowments (*awqāf*) on this side there is one *khānqāh* from which a stipend (*rātiba*) reaches them from time to time. In accordance with the Sharīᶜa of the holy Prophet [Muḥammad] ... these dervishes take preference over outsiders (*ajnabī*) to use these endowments. If you would be so kind as to see fit to issue a royal order (*parvāna-yi ᶜināyat*) to the effect that what is spent from that edifice in the way of stipends and [on] travelers is spent on the aforementioned *faqīrs*, and so that the rights-holding lords (*arbāb-i istiḥqāq*) will not write the *barāt* (tax check) on that place for outsiders, it will be agreeable and praiseworthy to the Creator and the created.[102]

Another example of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's recommendations regarding the assignment of *vaqf* revenues is particularly significant in its economic implications, as mentioned above. It involves a mosque in Gavāshān near Herat which was located on crown land (*zamīn-i khāliṣa*).[103] The Sufis there wanted to use the land as a retreat (*muᶜtakaf*) but the *ᶜulama' w*ould not give permission since the mosque was situated on crown land. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn requests the

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[100] Letter nos. 591(598), 593(600).

[101] Letter no. 593(600). In letter 591(598), as discussed above, Khwāja ᶜAlī reports that officials of the *dīvān* are causing problems for Abū'l-Ghayth and his relatives. In the concluding sentences of his letter Khwāja ᶜAlī requests that the family be given an audience at court to report the situation so their affairs may be put in order. Amīr Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn ᶜAlī was another of ᶜAbd al-Avval's brothers.

[102] Letter no. 433(438).

[103] See letter no. 455(461).

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sulṭān to convey the land on which the mosque is located, in addition to some crown land in the vicinity, as *vaqf* for the mosque. However, before crown land could be used to create a pious endowment it had to be first converted into private property (*milk*). This example thus provides further evidence for an innovative scheme, named a "buy-back procedure" by Maria Subtelny, which enabled the *sulṭān* to convert crown land to private or endowed property.[104]

One final letter of Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn, the father-in-law of Khwāja Aḥrār's elder son, Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh, concerns the *vaqf-nāma* of the *mazār* of Qutham b. ᶜAbbās, which is located in Samarqand.[105] According to his letter, the deed, which had been kept in the treasury of the shrine, had been carried to Herat, and in the interim period the various administrators of the endowments were left to manage them without knowing the specific stipulations regarding the conditions of the founder and the distribution of revenues. Taqī al-Dīn requests the servitors to send the deed back with the bearer of the letter.

Summary

The letters of Khwāja Aḥrār and his associates are an invaluable supplement to the standard historical sources on the Timurid period. They offer a personalized and multi-faceted view of patronage relationships, religious authority, economic history, class, and ideology. Although the letters conform to the standards of etiquette and literary form, they reveal the intentions, hopes and desires of a range of individuals in Timurid society.

In addition to the significance of the factual content and tone of the letters, equally valuable is the dynamism of the ongoing inter-regional contacts between Khurāsān and Mawarannahr that the correspondence reveals. People, ideas, goods, books, property deeds, and letters moved back and forth between the two regions. Despite the fact that the letters are undated, by their nature they are diachronic sources. The peace-process, for example, evolved over time through trial and error. Because the letters are for the most part petitions, they are, in effect, interrogative. We do not always know whether the

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[104] See Maria Subtelny, "The Logic of Shrine Development," in *The Transformation of the Timurid State*, 26-30.

[105] Letter no. 387(393).

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many requests were fulfilled; we only know the intentions and desires of the petitioner. Even with that, however, our knowledge of patronage relations, property ownership, endowments, and religious ideals increases through the issues, events, and ideas expressed by the authors.

Finally, the letters add to our historical understanding of the religious, political, and economic roles of Sufi shaykhs. They are indeed actors in the heart of Timurid society, in the *khānqāhs*, mosques, *madrasas*, villages, cities, farms and estates, shrines, shops, libraries, and courts.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS AUTHORS

The letters of Khwāja Aḥrār and his followers are an extraordinary source not only for their sociohistorical content, but as unique cultural artifacts that were personally written, delivered, read, and responded to by eminent members of late fifteenth-century Timurid society. The letters were read at the court and in the *khānqāh*, touched by the leading figures of the state and the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa*. They are the physical evidence of a remarkable network of relationships between the Naqshbandīya and the Timurid court of Herat.

The significance of the content of the letters as a historical source has been discussed in the previous chapter. The present chapter will examine the history of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, Soviet and post-Soviet scholarship on the album, and the fifteen authors whose letters are the subject of this study.[1]

The Compilation of the Album

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, or *Al'bom Navoi* (*Navā'ī Album*), as it is known in Russian scholarship, is a unique manuscript of the late fifteenth-century housed in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.[2] The manuscript originally came from the collection of Muḥammad Sharīfjān Makhdūm (1867-1932), also known as Ṣadr-i Żiyā', into the Department of Oriental Manuscripts of the Navā'ī State Public Library in 1938.[3] It consists of a compilation of 594 letters, 128 of which are identified as being written by Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār. Muḥammad Sharīfjān

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[1] This chapter is based on the introductory chapter of Asom Urunbaev's *Pis'ma-avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz "Al'boma Navoi."* There are a total of sixteen authors; the sixteenth is ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, whose 337 letters were published by Asom Urunbaev in *Pis'ma-avtografy*, 1982.

[2] MS IVANRUz no. 2178. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi* SSR (hereafter SVR) vol. 11, 149-151, for a description of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt.*

[3] The oval seal made by Sharīfjān Makhdūm on fol. 45b is dated 1307/1889. See SVR, vol. 1, 149-151, no. 346; SVR, vol. 10, 49-50, no. 6789.

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Makhdūm, a well known bibliophile and the last *qażī-kalān* of Bukhara under ᶜĀlim Khān (1910-20), assigned the manuscript the provisional name of *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* (Collection of Letters), which is noted in his manuscript catalogue (*Fihrist*).[4] Two copies of the manuscript were made in 1939 by Ibadalla Adilov (d. 1944).[5]

The origin and date of the compilation and the circumstances of its acquisition by Sharīfjān Makhdūm are unknown.[6] He assumed that the compiler of the album was ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, the addressee of the majority of the letters in the collection.[7] This assumption would appear to be confirmed by the words of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī himself in the *Nasā'im al-maḥabba*, a collection of biographies of Sufi shaykhs.[8] Navā'ī writes, "Because his kindnesses to me were many, he would often bring matters to my attention by honoring me with his noble

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[4] MS IVANRUz no. 2460. For a description, see SVR, vol. 5, 412-415, no. 413. See also the report by U. Hämraev, "Bir shäkhsiy kutubhana vä uning katalagi häqidä," *Nauchnye raboty i soobshcheniia*, kn. 6 (Tashkent, 1963), 387-395. For an in-depth study of the *Fihrist*, see Shadman Vahidov and Aftandil Erkinov, "Le *fihrist* (catalogue) de la bibliothèque de Ṣadr-i Żiyā': une image de la vie intellectuelle dans le Mavarannahr (fin XIX - début XX siècles)," *Cahiers D'Asie Centrale* 7(1999):141-173. Vahidov and Erkinov demonstrate the value of this understudied source, which contains a wealth of information about the cultural history of Mawarannahr, including a description of the libraries of Bukhara, biographies of 450 persons, and descriptions of 278 books, 273 manuscripts, and 5 lithographs.

[5] MS IVANRUz no. 4245 and 5136.

[6] Vahidov and Erkinov theorize that the collection was acquired by several means; as an inheritance from his father, ᶜAbd al-Shakūr (or his family), by purchase, or as gifts or payment for debt.

[7] The *Fihrist,* written in Persian, is found in the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent (MS IVANRUz no. 2460, ff. 43a-48a). Sharīfjān Makhdūm names ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā as among the authors of the letters even though their correspondence is not included in the collection.

[8] The *Nasāim al-maḥabba min shamā'im al-futuvva* (hereafter *Nasā'im*), is a Chaghatay translation, with important additions, of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-uns min ḥażrāt al-quds*, which was begun in 901/1495 and completed in 883/1478-79. References will be made to the Tashkent manuscript, MS IVANRUz no. 857 and to Kemal Eraslan's modern Turkish transliteration, *Nesâyimü'l-mahabbe min şemâyimi'l-fütüvve* (Istanbul, 1979). For the first edition of Navā'ī's additions, see Carl Brockelmann, "Newa'is Biographien türkischer und zeitgenössischer Mystiker," in *Documenta Islamica Inedita* (Festschrift R. Hartmann), ed. J. Fück (Berlin, 1952), 221-49. For a description of the Tashkent manuscript, see SVR, vol. 1, 127-28, no. 306; Häkimjanov, "Nävaiy al'bomi," *Ozbekistan mädäniyati,* 26 April, 1969. See also C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 954-956 and Rieu, *Turkish Catalogue*, 274b.

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letters (*vahy-âthâr ruqᶜalari*). I have collected (*muraqqaᶜ*) and bound (*müjallad qïlïp*) and still preserve them (*asrap-men*) embellished and organized in ruled columns (*jadval va takallüfât bile*) in accordance with the custom for objects of adoration (*teberruk yosuni bile*). It is my hope that the joy and aspiration [underlying] this endeavor would partake of his blessings."[9] The resemblance of Navā'ī's description of the *muraqqaᶜ* to the form of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalat,* which contains 128 letters of Khwāja Aḥrār, suggests that the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* may be the collection about which ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī wrote in the *Nasā'im al-maḥabba.* The inclination of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī to compile such a collection of letters is further supported by the compilation of his own correspondence (*Munshaᶜāt)* at the end of his life.[10]

Although the exact date of the compilation of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* is not known, the chronogram that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī wrote on the death of Khwāja Aḥrār (d. 1490) suggests that the latest date is between 1490-95.[11]

ᶜAbdallāh Marvārīd, in the *Sharaf-nāma*, refers to the *Inshā'i Muraqqaᶜ-yi Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr*, which was compiled in 897/1491-92.[12] However, it appears that Marvārīd's panegyric description refers to an album that contained examples of calligraphic art from the state treasury of books in Herat. In the historical sources, there is mention of the fact that ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī was composing such a *munshaᶜāt* from his Persian letters.[13] Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur mentions that among ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's works "is a collection of his letters, imitating that of Maulānā ᶜAbdu'r-raḥmān Jāmī and aiming at gathering together every letter on any topic he had ever written to any person."[14]

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[9] *Nasā'im*, Tashkent MS, fol. 178b; Eraslan Turkish edition, p. 257. For the Chaghatay manuscript, see ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, *Nasā'im al-maḥabba min shamā'im al-futuvva*, MS IVANRUz, no. 857, fol. 178b.

[10] ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, *Munshäat*, *Äsärlär*, 15 tomlik, vol. 13, 85-156b.

[11] MS IVANRUz no. 2178, fol. 70. See *Pis'ma-avtografy,* 103 for the Russian translation and fol. 70 for the Persian facsimile.

[12] Hans Robert Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-Nämä des ᶜAbdallāh Marwārīd in Kritischer Auswertung* (hereafter Roemer, SN), Persischer Text in Faksimile (Wiesbaden, 1952), ff. 74a-76a.

[13] Hämid Suläymanov, *Nävaiy äsärlärining mänbä'läri vä näshri häqidä*, 45b; A. Häyitmetov, "Älisher Nävaiyning farsiy mäktubläri häqidä," *Ozbek tili vä ädäbiyati* l(1974), 9-13.

[14] BN, 271. Although these letters were written in Chaghatay, seventeen Persian

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The letters contained in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* were written by a number of people at different times, and appear to have been preserved in ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's archive. It is possible to surmise that after the death of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and Khwāja Aḥrār, who authored most of the letters in the album, ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī decided, in remembrance of them, to gather their letters together in one collection; this is the basis for the Russian name, *Al'bom Navoi* (*Navā'ī Album*). However, since the mounting of the letters is not systematized according to the date, addressee, or author, it is unlikely that the letters were arranged by Navā'ī himself.

Paleographic Issues

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* measures 29 x 41 centimeters and contains 46 sheets onto which 594 Persian autograph-letters of 16 authors are glued.[15] The letters are written on Samarqand paper, mainly in *ruqᶜa, naskh,* and *shikasta* script, and reveal the individual characteristics of the handwriting of each author. The paper onto which the letters are glued is distinctive from the paper of the letters themselves, which are written on heavy, thick, glossy sheets apparently of Herat manufacture.

The condition of the letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* varies.[16] The different degrees of preservation suggest that the letters were kept for a long time before they were found in the album, and that they were not pasted onto the sheets at the same time. The letters are of different sizes, ranging from 3.7 x 5 centimeters (no. 333/338, fol. 24b) to 14.5 x 22 centimeters (no. 46/47, fol. 6b) and are separately framed by thin gold and black lines. The margins of the manuscript

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letters of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī included in his *Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirīn* provide the basis on which to surmise that he also wrote replies to Persian letters in Persian. See ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī [Älisher Nävaiy], *Khämsät äl-mutäkhäyyirin,* in Suyimä Ghänieva, *Jamiy vä Älisher Nävaiy* (Tashkent, 1966), 19-77. This opinion is corroborated in the *Majmūᶜa-yi ruqᶜāt va munshaᶜāt*, an early sixteenth-century collection which contains a letter written by ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī to a certain Indian ruler named Sharaf-Khān. In addition, the *Sharaf-nāma* of ᶜAbdallāh Marvārīd contains several other Persian letters of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī which are addressed to the ruler of Shirvān, Farrūkh Yasar, and to Khwāja Shams al-Dīn ᶜAlī, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Purānī, and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (Roehmer, SR, fols. 59-60b).

[15] The one exception is letter no. 44(45), which is written entirely in Arabic.

[16] See letter nos. 289(293), fol. 20a; 585(591), 44b; 592(599), fol. 45b, among others. Some of the letters also marked with brown stains.

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are framed by blue and gold bands. The lines that separate the letters from one another do not always coincide with the borders of the letters, as in no. 329(333), fol. 24b, where the final words *va's-salām* are separated from the letter, and in nos. 352(358) and 355(361), fol. 26a, where the signature is written on the dividing line on the right side of the letter. In no. 569(575), fol. 43a, a line is drawn between the signature of the author and the postscript of the letter, which creates the false impression that this section belongs to letter no. 566(572). In no. 578(584a-b), fol. 44a, the latter part of the letter is glued in the margin above the beginning section; the two parts of the same letter thus appear to be separate.

The letters that are glued onto the sheets of the album have been placed in varying horizontal and vertical alignments in an apparent attempt to maximize the use of space on each sheet. The desire to make maximum use of the space on each sheet is further evidenced by the fact that several of the letters are cut into two or three sections and pasted in a row[17] and separate sections of several letters are glued onto different sheets of the album.[18] The letters are not ordered by author, although groups of letters by individual authors are sometimes found throughout the manuscript. There are also fragments of letters[19] as well as incomplete phrases glued onto fragments that are distinctive from the handwriting and context of that fragment.[20] Asom Urunbaev carried out a textological study of the letters to restore the original text of the defective letters. However, it was not possible to connect several fragments to any one letter in the collection.

As stated above, the letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsālāt* are signed autograph-letters. Only 75 signatures from the 594 letters are missing, and, judging from the remains, those signatures most likely became unglued and lost. In these cases it was possible, based upon the

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[17] See letter nos. 20(22), fol. 4a; 52(53, 58), 53(54, 56), fol. 7b; 282 (286, 286a), fol. 19a; 294(298a-b), fol. 20b; 307(311), fol. 22a; 331(336, 338), 332(337a,b), fol. 24b; 377(383a,b), 378(389a,b), fol. 27a; 383(389a,b), fol. 27b; 456(462a,b), fol. 34b; 539(545a,b), fol. 40a; 542(548a,b,c), fol. 40b; 570(576a,b), fol. 43a, and so on.

[18] For example, the end of letter 566(572), fol. 43a is glued as a narrow strip onto fol. 45a, between letters 586(592), 589(595), and 590(596).

[19] For example, see nos. 25(26), fol. 4b; 54(55), fol. 7b; 288(292), fol. 20a; 304(308), fol. 21b; 325(329), 326(330), fol. 24a; 564(570), fol. 42b.

[20] On fol. 45a there are four sections of incomplete phrases from different letters. Fragment 326(330) on fol. 24a is glued onto the end of letter 323(327). A quarter of the line of 331(336,338) has no relation to the text whatsoever.

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resemblance of the handwriting to other signatures of the letters, to establish the authorship of the unsigned letters.

The signatures of the letters are, as a rule, cut out and wedged into the upper right-hand corner of the letters and rarely, if the right corner is full, into the left-hand corner.[21] The exception is 60 letters in which the signatures are not cut and that are located below the text or on the right side margin of the text.[22] Apparently, the compiler of the album first cut out the signature from a group of letters of one author and then glued them under the letters, not always taking care to match the signature with the text of the letter. In several letters we find two signatures; one signature is placed above the text and another at the end of the letter on yet another folio.[23]

The majority of the letters are written by the authors. In the cases where they may have been written by a secretary or a pupil, the signature of the author appears at the end of the letter.[24] Thus, on fol. 32a, there are four letters of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn,[25] and in only one of them are the handwriting of the letter and the signature identical. In all of these cases the signature of the author is not glued in the upper corner of the letter, but rather is placed either under the text on that sheet, as in no. 434(439), or in the bottom right-hand margin, as in nos. 433(438), 435(440), and 436(441).[26]

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[21] For examples of those signatures placed on the left, see nos. 380(386), 381(387), 382(388), fol. 27b, and others.

[22] This is primarily found in the letters of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn. See fols. 30a,b, 32a,b, 34a,b, 35a,b, and 36a,b.

[23] MS IVANRUz no. 2178, fol. 18a, nos. 266-277; the signature, *al-faqīr ʿUbayd Allāh* is written on the top of the letter, and *al-faqīr ʿUbayd Allāh Maḥmūd* is written on the side. On fol. 34a, no. 450(456) and 452(458), Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's signature is written only on the top of the letter. And in letters 451(457) and 453(459), *al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Abū Saʿīd* is written on the bottom of the letter. In letter nos. 461(467) and 462(468) *aql al-ʿUbayd Abū Saʿīd* is written on the side.

[24] On fol. 32a, for example, we find four letters of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, 433(438), 434(439), 435(440), and 436(441). The handwriting of the letter and the signature is identical in only one of them.

[25] Letter nos. 433(438), 434(439), 435(440) and 436(441).

[26] See also no. 468(474), fol. 35b in which the signature of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn is written on the bottom right-hand margin while the text was apparently written by his student. This letter is a request to provide financial support for Mawlānā Imād al-Dīn, a teacher who was evidently burdened by the weight of *ḥavālāt* and *ʿavāriżāt* taxes.

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The numeration of the letters is of late provenance, and is recorded in black ink in Arabic numerals and written in a rapid hand. A separate section of one or another letter is sometimes regarded as an independent letter and given a separate number.[27] For example, on fol. 41a, only an empty space with the signature of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār appears where the letter should be. The number 554 is written close to the left of the signature. Apparently this letter became unglued and was lost. Due to numeration problems such as these, Asom Urunbaev has renumbered the letters. Throughout this volume the new number appears first, followed by the original number, as recorded in the album, in parentheses.

It should be noted that fol. la, the beginning of fol. 1b, and the margin of fol. 45b contain various notes and verses of religio-mystical content which are not related to the *Navā'ī Album* itself. Based on the handwriting, they were written in the early twentieth century.[28] There also is a list of the names of eleven of the sixteen authors of the letters.[29]

Two copies of manuscript no. 2178 were made by the expert calligrapher, Ibadalla Adilov; both are housed in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, under inventory numbers 4245 and 5136. MS 4245 is

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[27] See, for example, fol. 7b. on which two letters have been glued onto the sheet in separate parts. The end of letter no. 52(53,58) is glued separately from the main section of the letter and given a separate number (58). The compiler of the album also separately glued the end of letter no. 53(54, 56) on fol. 7b and numbered it (56). This is also the case of 331(336, 338), fol. 24b. On fol. 23a, a fragment of a letter was glued under letter 316(320) and not assigned any number. A. Urunbaev has assigned it the number 317.

[28] Although ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's letters are not the subject of this volume, it should also be noted that another exception is a quatrain-chronogram of Jāmī, written on the death of Khwāja Aḥrār (d. 1490). MS IVANRUz no. 2178, fol. 46a. The entries on fols. 1a,b and 45b, based on the handwriting, were made by Sharīfjān Makhdūm.

[29] The authors listed are ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh, Shāh Qāsim Anvar, Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Avval, Khwāja ᶜAlī, Khwāja Yaḥyā, Khwāja Ḥasan ibn ᶜAla' al-ᶜAṭṭār, Khwāja Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, Khwāja Saᶜd al-Dīn, Khwāja Abū Saᶜīd, and Khwāja Sūfī ᶜAlī. In the copy of the album made by Sharifjān Makhdūm, at the end of the album on fol. 46a he mistakenly assumes that Mawlāna Qāsim is the poet and Sufi, Qāsim-i Anvār (d. 1433-34). This error is repeated by A.A. Semenov in his article, "Dva avtografa Khodzhi Akhrara" (Two Autographs of Khwājā Aḥrār), *Epigrafika vostoka* (1951):53.

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written in large *nastaʿlīq* script in black ink on light cream-colored Kokandī paper, contains 212 folios measuring 14 x 25.3 centimeters, and is dated 1939. In the conclusion, on folios 211a-212b, Adilov states that he copied the manuscript because it is a unique relic of the epoch of ʿAlī Shīr Nava'ī and reflects the relationship between the great poet and his contemporaries. He also draws attention to the difficulty of reading the letters, which, as mentioned, are written in *ruqʿa, naskh,* and *shikasta* handwriting of the fifteenth century.

Copy no. 5136, which contains 140 folios, is written in *nastaʿlīq* script in violet ink on various sheets of copy-book (ruled and checkered) paper. The size of the manuscript is 12 x 20 centimeters, and it is undated. The text of the manuscript is less fully packed than copy no. 4245.[30]

Defects in the Copies of Ibadalla Adilov[31]

Omission of Whole Letters

1. No. 568(574), fol. 43a. Authors ʿAbd al-Avval and Mawlānā Qāsim request that favor be shown to Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ghafūr, who visited Khwāja Aḥrār in Mawarannahr and was on his way to the addressee in Herat.

Omission of Fragments of Letters

1. No. 25(26), fol. 4b. Judging from the handwriting, this is a fragment of a letter belonging to Khwāja Aḥrār. The letter is one of a series written with the aim of restoring peace between the Timurids of Mawarannahr and Khurāsān. He reports that the household (*kūch*) of Amīr Shaykhzāda Muḥammad is departing from Mawarannahr to Khurāsān, and expresses hope that after their departure peace would be established between the quarelling Timurids.

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[30] There is a gap of more than 30 letters, which may be due to the difficulty Adilov may have encountered in deciphering the handwriting of the authors. MS IVANRUz No. 2178, nos. 556(562)-585-(591), fols. 42a-44a. These correspond with fols. 189-204a in MS no. 4245.

[31] Despite the following corrections, Adilov's two copies of the *Majmūʿa-yi murāsalāt* are of great scholarly value for researchers and we have made full use of them in the textual analysis and critical study of the letters. It should be noted that only the defects found in the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār will be noted here. For information concerning the letters of Jāmī, see Urunbaev, *Pis'ma-avtografy.*

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2. No. 55(57), fol. 7b. A fragment of a letter of Khwāja Aḥrār in which he requests that the children of Mawlānā Muḥammad, one of his followers, be sent to Mawarannahr.

3. Nos. 325(329) and 326(330), fol. 24b. Judging from the handwriting, these are fragments of letters of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh. Both were requests sent to the addressee in Herat to provide assistance to the petitioner of the letter.

4. No. 392(397, 398), fol. 28b. This is a fragment of a letter written in the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī. The letter is one of a series written by Naqshhbandī shaykhs concerning their mediatory role in discussions with Sulṭān-Maḥmūd in Ḥiṣār in an attempt to persuade him to agree to a truce. The details announce the bearer of the letter, Amīr Shaykh Bāyazīd.

Omission of Words and Phrases

1. No. 438(443, 445), fol. 32b. The omission of ten lines of verse in which Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn requests the addressee's help in support of justice and humanity for the downtrodden. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn also requests the appointment of a new *mutavallī* to the shrine of the Shaykh al-Islām, Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār.

2. No. 578(584a,b), fol. 44a. A letter of Khwāja ᶜAlī. The postscript, which is set above the text of the letter, is omitted. In MS no. 2178 this section is considered to be an independent letter and numbered 584b.

3. No. 581(587), fol. 44a. The author's signature, احقر العبید علی (Aḥqar al-ᶜUbayd ᶜAlī), is omitted.

4. No. 580(586), fol. 44a. The author of the letter is Khwāja ᶜAlī. The name of the addressee, which is located on the right-hand margin of the letter as علی سیر مد ظله العالی (ᶜAlī Shīr, May his high shadow be extended) is missing.

Scholarship on the Album

The interest of Central Asian historians of the Soviet period in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* or *Nava'i Album* dates from its entry into the Department of Manuscripts of the Navoi State Public Library in 1938 and I. Adilov's copying of it in 1939. The value of the collection as a source for understanding the social and economic history of the

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Timurid period was recognized by G. Bakhrami, M. Baratova, L. M. Epifanova, A.A. Molchanov, R.N. Nabiev, A.A. Semenov, and A. Urunbaev. The first extensive study of the album in its entirety was accomplished by A. Urunbaev, who in 1982 published the autograph letters of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī in Persian facsimile with a Russian translation and commentary.[32]

The earliest study of the album was published in 1949 by A.A. Molchanov in an article in which he examined the late fifteenth-century tax system of Timurid Herat.[33] In 1948 R. N. Nabiev published an article on the political and economic life in fifteenth-century Mawarannahr in which he included six autograph letters of Khwāja Aḥrār.[34] Nabiev provided evidence of Aḥrār's trade and commercial interests in Khurāsān and discussed how he utilized his spiritual authority for political influence.

In 1951, A.A. Semenov published a text and translation from Persian to Russian of two of the autograph letters of Khwāja Aḥrār along with a brief description of manuscript no. 2178.[35] In the first volume of the manuscript catalogue, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, edited by A.A. Semenov, a more detailed description of the album included the names of the sixteen authors of the letters as well as a facsimile of one of the letters of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.[36]

In 1960, G. Bakhrami published an article that investigated the social and economic viewpoints of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, drawing attention to two of Jāmī's letters from the album dealing with commercial issues and the peasantry.[37] Bakhrami argued that a letter in

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[32] Asom Urunbaev, *Pis'ma-avtografy*. The book is based on Asom Urunabaev's doctoral dissertation, "Pis'ma-Avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz 'Al'boma Navoi' kak istoricheskii istochnik"(Tashkent, 1984). Two other editions of the letters of Jāmī were also published. See A. Urunbaev in collaboration with Mayil Hiravī, *Nāmahā-yi dastnavīs-i Jāmī* (Kabul, 1987) and *Nāmahā*, A. Urunbaev in collaboration with Asror Rakhonov (Dushanbe, 1989).

[33] A.A. Molchanov," K kharakterisike nalogovoi sistemii v Gerate epokhi Alishera Navoi," in *Rodonachal'nik uzbekskoi literatury* (Tashkent, 1940), 153-169.

[34] R.N. Nabiev, "Iz istorii politiko-ekonomicheskoi zhizni Maverannakhra XV v," in *Velikii Uzbekskii Poet (Tashkent,* 1948), 25-49.

[35] A.A. Semenov, "Dva avtografa," 51-57.

[36] SVR, vol. 1, 149-151. For Jāmī's letter, see *Pis'ma-avtografy*, no. 336(342), fol. 61.

[37] G. Bakhrami, "K voprosi o sotsial'no-ekonomicheskikh vzgliadakh Dzhami,"

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which Jāmī made a request to establish unimpeded commerce for newly arriving merchants in Herat was addressed to the Timurid court in Herat, either to Ḥusayn Bāyqarā or ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.[38]

In 1964, M. Baratova also made a brief report about the *Navā'ī Album* in which she referred to Adilov's 1939 copy (no. 4245) and emphasized its value for the study of the socio-economic life of the Timurid state. Baratova included an abridged translation from Persian to Uzbek of five letters of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and one of Khwāja Aḥrār.[39] In her thesis (*avtoreferat)*, Baratova discussed a number of political and economic issues prevalent in the history of "fifteenth century Uzbekistan," and she utilized several of Jāmī's letters, from Adilov's copy, to illustrate her points.[40]

In 1965, in connection with the 550th anniversary of the birthdate of Jāmī, a jointly authored catalogue was published under the editorship of L. M. Epifanova that included excerpts from the works of Jāmī.[41] Facsimiles of four letters of Jāmī appeared alongside a brief description of the album.[42]

In 1967, A. Urunbaev and M. Epifanova published an article in a volume dedicated to the Czech Iranologist, Jan Rypka in celebration of his eightieth birthday.[43] In this article, Urunbaev and Epifanova provided an account of the contents of eleven letters of Jāmī from the *Navā'ī Album* that reflect Jāmī's views on the socio-economic character of Timurid society and his concern about the welfare of the populace.

Iz istorii obshchestvenno-ekonomicheskoi mysli v Uzbekistane v XV-XVI vv. Tashkent, 1960, 33-40.

[38] Bakhrami, "K voprosi," 39.

[39] M. Baratova [Bärätova], "XV äsrgä aid, *Mäjmuäi murasälat, (Khätlär toplämi), in Ozbek tili vä ädäbiyati* (1964, no. 4), 62-64.). The five letters of Jāmī are nos. 5; 36(37); 45(46); 64(69); 70(75); Aḥrār's letter is no. 56(59). MS IVANRUz no. 2178.

[40] M. Baratova, "Razvitie obshchestvenno-ekonomicheskoi mysli v Uzbekistane v XV v" (Avtoreferat na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata ekonomicheskikh nauk, Tashkent, 1968).

[41] *Rukopisei proizvedenii Abdarrakhmana Dzhami v Sobranii Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk UzSSR* (Tashkent, 1965).

[42] MS IVANRUz no. 2178, nos. 64(69); 70(75); 112(117); 116(121).

[43] A. Urunbaev and L.M. Epifanova. "Pis'ma ᶜAbd al-Rakhmana Dzhami kak istochnik dlia kharateristiki lichnosti poeta" (The Letters of Abdurrahman Jami as a Source of the Characteristics of the Poet's Personality), *Yadnamaye Jan Rypka* (Prague, 1967), 155-159. This article was reprinted in Kabul in the journal, *Afghanistan*, vol. 22: 79-55.

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In 1971, Urunbaev published three letters of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī in an article on the Timurid ruler and astronomer, Ulugh Beg, and his collaborative work in the Samarqand Observatory of ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAlī Qushchī.[44]

Since his publication of the autograph letters of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī in 1982, A. Urunbaev has published a number of studies on the *Nava'ī Album.* In 1982, he published an article in Uzbek about the letters of Jāmī in which he discussed Jāmī's friendship with ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī and their shared views and concerns about political and spiritual questions and the fate of the populace.[45] In 1983, Urunbaev published an article in the newspaper, *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä san'äti,* in which he drew attention to the autograph letters of the authors from the *Navā'ī Album*, including Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, who, Urunbaev points out, characterized ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī as a man who constantly showed his concern about the welfare of the populace.[46] And in 1995, Urunbaev published an article on the the *Navā'ī Album* as a source for the study of taxation in fifteenth century Khurāsān; 36 letters in Persian transcription were included in the article.[47]

The studies of the Central Asian historians mentioned above provide evidence of a prolonged interest in the album as a valuable source for understanding the social and economic history of the Timurid period.

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[44] A. Urunbaev, "O vremeni vyezd Ali Kushchi iz Srednei Azii," *Obshchestvenye nauki v Uzbekistane,* 1971, no. 9, 51-56. The contents of the three letters were also published in the following articles by A. Urunbaev [Ä. Orinbaev], "Nayab mäktublär," *Gulistan*, no. 12(1971):28-29 and "Novye dannye o zhizni Ali Kushchi," in *Iz istorii tochnykh nauk na srednevekovom Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoke* (Tashkent, 1972), 242-247. Based on the study of the letters of Jāmī and other sources, Urunbaev establishes that ᶜAlī Kushchī departed from Central Asia in 1470 rather than 1449, as was proposed earlier.

[45] A. Urunbaev [Ä. Orinbaev], "Äbdurrahman Jamiyning Khätläri," in *Shärq Yulduzi* 10(1982): 195-200. These questions include attention to the material support for needy teachers and students at the madrasa and the repeal of extraordinary taxes for the poor. The article was published in Darī in the Afghan journal, *Khurasan* as "Makātīb-i Mawlānā Jāmī," 53-70.

[46] A. Urunbaev [Ä. Orinbaev], "Navaiyga iltimäsnamalär," *Ozbekistan ädäbiyati vä sän'äti* (4 February, 1983).

[47] A. Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografy iz "Al'boma Navoi" - istochnik no izucheniiu nalogooblozhenie v Khorasane XV v," in E.A. Davidovich, ed., *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, no. 3 (Moscow, 1995), 121-157.

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The Authors

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* contains 594 letters written by 16 authors. More than half of the letters (337) were written by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. Most of those remaining were written by members of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa* from Mawarannahr, and it is these letters that are the subject of this volume. The majority of the remaining letters (128) are those of Khwāja Aḥrār.[48] The letters in the collection are primarily addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī (1441-1501), the Uighur *bakhshī*, Naqshbandī, and Chaghatay poet who arrived in Herat from Samarqand in 1469 and who was appointed as *amīr* of the *dīvān-i aᶜlā* (*manṣab-i imārat-i dīvān-i aᶜlā*) and the office of *muhrdār* by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 1469-1487) in 876/1472. He held these posts until 892/1487, when he was appointed ruler of Astarabad and was forced to leave Herat.[49] A smaller portion of the letters are addressed to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.[50] The fifteen authors other than Jāmī will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, ordered by their total number of letters in the album. Included will be background information on the authors, a summary of the theme(s) of their letters and, when appropriate, information on the signatures and titles used.

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[48] Five of the authors were prominent disciples of Khwāja Aḥrār, two of whom were also Aḥrār's son-in-laws. Two of the authors are the sons of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[49] For a discussion of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's family background, his relationship to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and his court appointments, see Maria Eva Subtelny," ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī: Bakhshī and Beg," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-80): 797-807 and "Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Nawā'ī," EI^2. Subtelny discusses the connection of fosterbrotherhood (*kūkāltāshī*) between the families of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī and Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and the political implications of Navā'i's non-Chaghatay hereditary roots. In 892/1487, ᶜAlī Shīr was forced to leave Herat after Ḥusayn Bāyqarā appointed him governor of the province of Astarabad. For a full discussion of the circumstances of ᶜAlī Shīr's troubles at the court and his opposition to the reforms of his rival, Majd al-Dīn, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform and its Opponents in the Late Timurid Period," *Iranian Studies* 21(1988): 123-151. According to Khwāndamīr, ᶜAlī Shir Navā'ī resigned from both the *amīr*-ship (*amr-i imārat*) and governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Astarabad one year later (1488), HS, vol. 4, 183-184 (cited in Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform," 805). See also Älisher Navaiy, *Munshäat, Äsärlär,* 15 jildlik, 1 jild (Tashkent, 1963), 5.

[50] It is often possible to discern the addressee by the epithets used, or by the content. In some cases there are no clear clues as to who the addressee is.

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1. ᶜUbayd Allāh, ibn Maḥmūd (Khwāja Aḥrār)[51]

There are 128 of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters in the album, and they are second only to those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.[52] A number of these letters are unsigned, but based on the handwriting it is possible to conclude that they belong to Khwāja Aḥrār. All of the signed letters except for one are signed as, الفقير عبيدالله (The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh). The exception is letter no. 266(271) on fol. 18a where, in addition to the signature glued at the top right corner of the letter, another is written in the right margin, reading الفقير عبيد الله بن محمود, "The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh, son of Maḥmūd."

As discussed in Chapter One, the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār, all of which were directed to the Timurid court in Herat, address a variety of issues regarding interrelations between Mawarannahr and Khurāsān, including the following: political matters related to territorial and internecine conflicts,[53] religious questions, particularly calls for the strengthening of the Sharīᶜa and the eradication of heresy,[54] economic issues, including the purchase of land in Khurāsān, taxation, and trade,[55] letters of petition on behalf of individuals and groups, regarding permission for travel, release from arrest, financial support for members of the religious community, and protection of the commercial interests of his followers who are traveling to Khurāsān,[56] and other

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[51] A thorough discussion of Khwāja Aḥrār, the themes of his letters, and his political, economic, religious, and social roles may be found in Chapter One. A discussion of the significance of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* as a source for the history of Timurid Central Asia may be found in Chapter Two.

[52] They are nos. 13-27; 40(41); 41(42); 48(49)-58(62); 266(271)-273(278); 275(280)-288(292); 290(294)-332(337a-b); 441(447); 442(448); 491(497)-501(507); 535(541)-555(561).

[53] A number of letters concern the territorial conflict and internecine war between Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506) on the one hand, and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd (1459-1494, ruler of Ḥiṣār) and Sulṭān-Aḥmad (1468-1493, ruler of Samarqand) on the other, both sons of Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd (d. 1469). See letter nos. 14; 19; 20; 21; 27(28); 49(50); 50(51); 52(53, 58); 58(61); 281(285); 282(286); 292(296); 293(297); 294(298); 318(322), among others.

[54] See letter nos. 13; 19; 24; 49(50); 59(62); 275(280); 301(305); 304(308); 305(309); 312(316); 314(318); 317; 323(326); 494(500), for example.

[55] On trade, see nos. 54(55); 271(276); 313(317). On property, see no. 22(23); 267(272); 442(448); 443(449); 444(450); 548(554-555). On relief from oppressive taxation, see nos. 500(506), 535(541).

[56] Forty-six letters fall into this category. Some are fairly nondescript in their requests, such as no. 26(27). See, for example, nos. 24; 268(273); 270(275)-273(278);

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requests for protection and for reuniting families that are divided between Mawarannahr and Khurāsān.[57]

The majority of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters appear to be addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, although a number of them appear to be addressed to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. Letter nos. 538(544) and 306(310) specifically concern ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's troubles at the Herat court. Although their names are not specifically mentioned, it is clear from the contents of the letters that one is addressed to Navā'ī and one to Jāmī. In the letter to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, Khwāja Aḥrār encourages him to carry out his duties of service on behalf of the populace for the sake of his own inner joy and closeness with God.[58] In another, which is addressed to Jāmī, Khwāja Aḥrār urges him to see Navā'ī and to remind him that he should not have any anxiety about carrying out his duties of service for the sake of the two worlds.[59] In ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's *Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirīn* [*Khämsät äl-mutähäyyirin*], which includes a description of the life of Jāmī and Navā'ī's relations with him, he writes that because of the difficulty of serving at the court of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā he intended to leave his office and was seeking Jāmī's advice. Jāmī tried to dissuade him from leaving office, and advised him to take advantage of his closeness to the *sulṭān* for the sake of the Muslim populace.[60]

278(282a)-279(283); 295(299); 297(301); 307(311); 310(314); 311(315); 319(323); 322(326); 330(334); 441(447); 445(451); 491(497); 492(498); 539(545a,b); 552(559); 553.

[57] The latter are often a result of requests made by heartsick relatives in Mawarannahr who petition Khwāja Aḥrār to obtain release of a family member from court service, or to obtain travel permits. See letter nos. 16-18; 48(49); 53(54, 56); 55(57); 277(282); 296(300); 299(303); 328(332); 496(502); 446(452); 497(503); 536(542); 537(543); 541(547); 546(552); 549(556); 551(558); 554(560); 555(561).

[58] Letter no. 538(544).

[59] Letter no. 306(310). Jāmī's name is not mentioned, but it is clear from the content of one letter that he is the addressee. Jāmī also wrote a letter to dissuade ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī from leaving the Timurid court of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and advised him to take advantage of his closeness to the *sulṭān* for the sake of the Muslim populace. For Jāmī's letter, see *Pis'ma-avtografi,* p. 52 and fol. 64(69).

[60] ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī [Älisher Navaiy], *Khämsät äl-mutäkhäyyirin*, fol. 41b. The letters of Khwāja Aḥrār evidently were not left unanswered. For example, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn wrote a letter to Khwāja Aḥrār in response to Aḥrār's request that he release two high-ranking persons who were detained in Herat for political reasons so they could leave for Mawarannahr. In his letter, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā assures Khwāja Aḥrār of his readiness to carry out every request of his, although he writes that it was not expedient at that time to do so because of certain circumstances.

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2. *Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn*

There are 44 of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's letters in the collection, only second in number to those of Khwāja Aḥrār. His signature, العبد الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين, "Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, the Servant in Need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious," is written at the bottom of his letters. Research thus far reveals no evidence about him, which is surprising given the significant number of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's letters addressed to the Timurid court of Herat. In his letters, the majority of which are addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn refers to him as "son," which suggests that Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn was much older than Navā'ī.[61] Amīn al-Dīn mentions ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī by name only once, as *Amīr-i-Muᶜaẓẓam Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr*, "the venerated *amīr,* Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr."[62] In two of his letters Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn uses the title, *Walī Allāh*, "Friend of God,"[63] and in three others he refers to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī as *Asad Allāh*, "Lion of God," both names of the Caliph ᶜAlī.[64] In the remaining letters, among the *laqabs* used by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn are *amārat ma'ābī,* refuge of the amīrate, and *vizārat panāhī*, refuge of the vazīrate.[65]

Many of his letters were requests, all on the behalf of others, for tax relief or protection from abusive tax officials,[66] and for assistance for students and the poor.[67] In a number of the letters Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn addresses questions concerning the apportionment of financial support for teachers at the Herat madrasa, and in two of them he petitions on behalf of someone whom he calls his disciple (*shāgird).*[68] This leads us to conjecture that Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn was a *mudarris* and possibly an administrator in some capacity.[69]

Asnād va mukātibāt-i tārīkhī Īrān az Tīmūr tā Shah Ismāᶜīl, ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī (Tehran, 1341/1973, 390-393.

[61] See letter nos. 435(440) and 452(458), for example.

[62] Letter no. 451(457).

[63] Letter nos. 423(429) and 430(435).

[64] Letter nos. 427(432); 437(442); 478(484).

[65] Letter nos. 464(486) and 481(487), for example.

[66] Letter nos. 430(435); 431(436); 432(437); 453(459); 468(474); 474(480).

[67] Letter nos. 423(429); 456(462a,b); 464(470); 471(477); 475(481); 478(484).

[68] Letter nos. 435(440) and 473(479).

[69] It seems likely that Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn was a *mudarris* in a Herat madrasa, or in the vicinity of Herat.

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In a number of his letters Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn shows concern about the material security of the students and teachers at the Herat madrasa.[70] In one of them he asks for material assistance for the talented students and, if necessary, to report this need for assistance to the *sulṭān* himself.[71] In another, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn petitions on behalf of a student arriving from Badakhshān and who needs to sell his books for his sustenance.[72]

Among his letters related to taxation, in letter no. 430(435) Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn appeals to remove the name of a poverty- stricken individual, Niẓām al-dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, from the *nāmbardār* tax register.[73] In letter no. 432(437) Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn requests an assessment of the *ḥavālāt* levied on the agriculture (*zirāᶜat*) of the muezzin of the Fīrūzābād mosque in Qāyin. In this same letter, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn petitions on behalf of the muezzin for a stipend which could come from a "*vaqf* or another source."[74] In letter no. 468(474), Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn appeals to the addressee to protect a student of Mawlānā ᶜImād al-Dīn who felt burdened by the imposition of extraordinary taxes (*ḥavālāt va ᶜavāriżāt*). In yet another letter no. 481(487), Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn asks that the *ilchī* (envoy), the representative of the royal *dīvān* in the village of Jāvīr, not be sent to review the *māl* and *ikhrājāt* taxes, but rather that the Sufis of Jāvīr be sent to the *dīvān*, since, he asserts, sending the *ilchī* to Jāvīr could lead to the ruin of the inhabitants. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn reports that the Sufis had displayed inappropriate behavior by sending a letter directly to the *divān-i aᶜlā* and Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn was intervening on their behalf. He also petitioned on behalf of the inhabitants of a certain unnamed village who lost their crops, asking the addressee for relief from ruin.[75]

In three of his letters, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn petitions for various people in connection with property issues, including the pay-

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[70] Letter nos. 424(430); 426(431); 427(428); 435(440); 436(441); 477(483); 479(485).

[71] Letter nos. 426(431).

[72] Letter nos. 428(433).

[73] For a discussion of scholarship on the *nāmbardār* tax and references to it in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, see Asom Urunbaev, "Pisma-avtografy iz Al'boma Navoi - istochnik k izucheniiu nalogooblazheniia v khorasane XV vv," 133-135.

[74] Letter no. 432(437).

[75] Letter no. 453(459).

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ment of debt incurred by the bearer of one of the letters for property (*milk)* that was sold; a request for assistance for one of his students, Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, who acquired fallow land; a petition concerning the maintainance of Sufis who wished to establish themselves in a mosque that was located on *khāliṣa* (state) land in the *maḥalla* of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn in Gavāshān;[76] and a request to transfer into *vaqf* some *khāliṣa* lands that were located near the mosque so the Sufis could occupy themselves prayers and the revitalization of that mosque.[77]

Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn also writes a request on behalf of a merchant in which he asks for protection and the payment of the road tax of the bearer of the letter who was to be sent to Gulbarga in India in order to conclude his trade business.[78]

3. Mīr ᶜAbd al-Avval Nīshāpūrī

According to Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, Abd al-Avval was "among the grandees of the disciples (*aṣḥāb*) of the Ḥażrat-i Ishān."[79] He was also the son-in-law of Khwāja Aḥrār and the author of the *Masmūᶜāt*, a biography of Khwāja Aḥrār.[80]

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[76] Gavāshān is a village in the *buluk* of Gudāra in the Herat region. See Dorothea Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit nach dem Tārīḫ-e Ḥāfeẓ-i Abrū* (verf. 817-823h.), vol. 2, *Übersetzung und Ortsnamenkommentar* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 24, 88; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfya. Qismat-i rubᶜ-i Khurāsān va Harāt*, ed. Najīb Māyil Hiravī (Tehran, 1349/1970), 17.

[77] See respectively, nos. 472(478); 473(479); 455(461); and 433(438).

[78] Letter no. 429(434).

[79] *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 603. See *Rashaḥāt*, pp. 603-607 for a discussion of ᶜAbd al-Avval's first encounter with Khwāja Aḥrār in Samarqand and his subsequent spiritual journey. In relating the events surrounding the military conflict between Sulṭān-Aḥmad and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd in Ḥisār, and the subsequent entry of Sulṭān-Aḥmad into Samarqand and Khwāja Aḥrār's attempt at mediation, Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī lists Mawlānā Sayyid Ḥasan, Mawlānā Qāsim, Mir ᶜAbd al-Avval, and Mawlānā Jaᶜfar as those among the great companions of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān, Khwāja Aḥrār, p. 529.

[80] See Mīr ᶜAbd al-Avval Nīshāpūrī, *Masmūᶜāt*. MS IVANRUz, no. 3735/II (SVR, vol. 8, no. 5977); *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 603; Chekhovich, SD, 14. In one of his letters Khwāja Aḥrār refers to him as Amīr Sayyid ᶜAbd al-Avval, and in a letter of Khwāja ᶜAlī he is referred to as Kamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Avval. The 18th-century *Tuḥfat al-ansāb-i ᶜalavī* (MS IVANRUz 1459, fol. 165a) interestingly insists that ᶜAbd al-Avval Nīshāpūrī is a descendant of Sayyid Ata. I am grateful to Devin DeWeese for this reference.

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Born in Nishapur, Mīr ᶜAbd al-Avval died in the beginning of Dhu'l Ḥijja 905 (28 June 1500).[81] His father, a large landowner, bequeathed the hamlet of Khānshāh in Nishapur (*mazraᶜa-yi Khānshāh*) as *vaqf-i awlād* (family *vaqf)* to his descendants.[82]

There are twenty-seven letters of ᶜAbd al-Avval in the collection, fifteen of which were written by ᶜAbd al-Avval alone,[83] and twelve of which were jointly written with Mawlānā Qāsim, another disciple of Khwāja Aḥrār.[84] All of the letters are signed, الفقیر عبد الاول, the *faqīr*, ᶜAbd al-Avval. Although in some cases there are no clues for determining the addressee, in many of the letters, based on the epithets used by ᶜAbd al-Avval, it is possible to conclude that the addressee was ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.[85] In addition to his appeals on behalf of different persons, many of ᶜAbd al-Avval's letters discuss family matters, particularly those of his brother, Abū'l-Ghayth, who lived in Khurāsān.[86] In letter 375(381), for example, ᶜAbd al-Avval requests help from the addressee in connection with the land of Khānshāh which, as mentioned previously, had been bequeathed to him by his father as a family *vaqf* (*vaqf-i awlād*). In another, he requests support for his brother when he moves from Mawarannahr to Khurāsān.[87] In one instance, ᶜAbd al-Avval sends a letter through Abū'l-Ghayth in which he sends greetings and thanks the addressee for his favor.[88]

Seven letters of ᶜAbd al-Avval are petitions for favor on behalf of various persons, including disciples, associates and students. In one he asks for consideration of Mawlānā Muḥammad, an intimate servant of Khwāja Aḥrār (*āz mulāzimān-i khāṣṣa*) who was going to study in Khurāsān;[89] in another letter he requests that the attention of the

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[81] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 608.

[82] Letter no. 375(381).

[83] Letter nos. 374(380)-384(390); 446(452); 576(582); 577(583); 589(595); 590(596).

[84] Letter nos. 388(394); 565(571)-574(580); 588(594a,b).

[85] Even for those letters lacking titles of address, we may conjecture that they too were directed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[86] Seven of ᶜAbd al-Avval's letters concern family matters, specifically those of his brother, Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth and the endowed property of Khānshāh. One letter that was jointly written by ᶜAbd al-Avval and Mawlānā Qāsim concerns ᶜAbd al-Avval's family.

[87] Letter nos. 376(382); 381(387); 589(595); 593(600).

[88] See letter no. 489(595), for example.

[89] Mawlānā Muḥammad was Khwāja Aḥrār's disciple.

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addressee be turned to the business of the bearer of the letter, who was a close friend of ᶜAbd al-Avval's.[90]

The twelve letters that are signed both by ᶜAbd al-Avval and Mawlānā Qāsim bear the character of friendly correspondence. Based on the epithets, it is possible to conclude that the addressee was ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. Their contents include greetings, prayers and hopes for peace,[91] thanks for the sending of gifts to Khwāja Aḥrār,[92] information about current events such as the use of snake venom (*mār dārū*), which was apparently distributed in Mawarannahr at that time as a treatment of cholera,[93] and a request for an eye doctor to treat Mawlānā Fażl Allāh who was traveling to Khurāsān for treatment.[94] In one of the jointly signed letters they also convey a wish for peace, apparently in reference to the recurrent internecine conflict among the Timurid princes.[94]

4. Khwāja ᶜAlī

Khwāja ᶜAlī Tāshkandī, like ᶜAbd al-Avval, was both a disciple and son-in-law of Khwāja Aḥrār. Kāshifī refers to him as "among the long-standing companions and eminent agents (*vakīls*) of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān."[95] He held a great deal of responsibility and authority in the Samarqand Naqshbandī community, which is confirmed by his title of *vakīl (agent)* and is substantiated by a number of references to him in the *Rashaḥāt.* Kāshifī relates a particularly telling story.

> "When Khwāja Aḥrār went with his household (*kūch)* from Tashkent to Samarqand at the request of Mīrzā Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd, he entrusted the supervision of all the worldly affairs to Mawlānā Khwājā ᶜAlī and put the reins of affairs into [his able] hands. The Mawlānā's authority reached such a degree that there was a day when he wrote twenty letters to the king of the time and the *amīrs* and officials of the *dīvān.*

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[90] See nos. 379(385) and 577(583) respectively.

[91] Letter nos. 570(576a,b); 572(578).

[92] Letter no. 571(577).

[93] Letter no. 566(572).

[94] Letter no. 574(580).

[95] *Az qudamā-yi asḥāb va ajilla va vukalā'-yi Ḥażrat-i Īshān buda-and. Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 632. Jürgen Paul names Khwāja ᶜAlī as the "head of the central adminstration" of the "central office" (*hauptbüro*) of Khwāja Aḥrār's Naqshbandī community in Samarqand. Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya,* 97.

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> There was no one who could transgress the content of the letters of the Mawlānā or neglect carrying out the orders.[96]

Khwāja ᶜAlī often travelled to Herat on Khwāja Aḥrār's behalf as his envoy, and had audiences with Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā.[97] There are twenty-two of Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters in the album, sixteen of which he signs as خواجه علی (Khwāja ᶜAlī) or simply as علی (ᶜAlī); six letters lack a signature but are ascribed to him based on the similarity of the handwriting and style to those of the signed letters.[98] There are four additional letters that Khwāja ᶜAlī wrote together with Mawlānā Qāsim.[99] The addressee of the majority of Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters is ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. In four of them he specifically refers to him as "ᶜAlī Shīr." In three of his letters, instead of Navā'ī's customary name, Khwāja ᶜAlī uses "Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn." In one letter Khwāja ᶜAlī refers to Navā'ī as "Amīr Muẓaffar al-Dīn."[100] And in several letters, he uses the epithets *ḥukūmat panāhī*,[101] *ishārat ma'ābī*,[102]

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[96] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 633-634 (also cited by Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya*, 97). After Abū Saᶜīd's defeat of Abdullāh in 1451, with the inspiration and support of Khwāja Aḥrār, Abū Saᶜīd persuaded Khwāja Aḥrār to move to Samarqand. This passage refers to that move and indicates that from the beginning of his service to Khwāja Aḥrār, Khwāja ᶜAlī was given a significant degree of responsibility in managing his affairs and in writing letters to the *sulṭān* and state officials. For reference to Abū Saᶜīd's persuasion of Khwāja Aḥrār, see Burhān al-Dīn Samarqandī (known as Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī), *Silsilat al-ᶜārifīn*, fol. 162b. For a discussion of the different versions of Khwāja Aḥrār's involvement with Abū Saᶜīd's accession to the sultanate, see Jo-Ann Gross, "Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh: Symbolic Statements of Political and Religious Authority," 109-121.

[97] ᶜAbd al-Avval speaks of Khwājā ᶜAlī as deceased while Khwāja Aḥrār (d. 1490) was still alive. See ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, *Nasā'im*, fol. 178b; ᶜAbd al-Vāsiᶜ Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Maqāmāt-i Mawlavī Jāmī*, MS IVANRUz, no. 1354, fol. 106b; Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, ed. Najīb Māyil Hiravī, 198; ᶜAbd al-Avval, *Masmūᶜāt*, fol. 200b.

[98] Letter nos. 385(391); 386(392); 490(496); 556(562)-564(570); 578(584a,b)-585(591); 591(598); 592(599). No. 392 is a fragment which bears the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī. Letter nos. 560(566); 564(570); 581(587); 583(589); 591(598); and 592(599) lack a signature.

[99] Letter nos. 391(397, 398); 586(592); 593(600); 594(601).

[100] Letter no. 584(590).

[101] Letter nos. 578(584a-b); 563(569); 561(567); 579(585); 580(586).

[102] Letter nos. 562(568); 592(599).

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mulāzimān-i ḥażrat,[103] and *mulāzimān-i ᶜataba-yi ᶜalīyah*[104] to refer to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

Several of Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters concern political and financial questions related to the interests of the Naqshbandī community in Mawarannahr; others concern the settlement of conflicts among the princes.[105] In one, for example, Khwāja ᶜAlī appeals to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn to grant amnesty for the release of the supporters of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Bāyqarā who were captured by him.[106] In another letter, Khwāja ᶜAlī calls for the Sulṭān's generosity and magnanimity in coming to terms for peace. He also informs the Sulṭān about Khwāja Aḥrār's approval of the negotiation process in which, acting in accordance with the instructions of Khwāja Aḥrār, the *sayyids* assumed the role of negotiators.[107] Khwāja ᶜAlī also reports the receipt of ᶜAlī Shīr's letter in which ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī related the results of peace negotiations between the *sulṭāns*. He states that the letter was read and approved by Khwāja Aḥrār, who gave orders to send a trustworthy person to participate in the negotiations.[108] In letter no. 386(392), Khwāja ᶜAlī reports that Sulṭān-Maḥmūd did not participate in the plunder which was carried out in Khurāsān; he writes that Khwāja Aḥrār ordered negotiations with Sultān-Maḥmūd, who pledged that such a raid would not be repeated in the future.[109] Another series of Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters also concerns the migration of individuals and entire families from Mawarannahr to Khurāsān and vice versa.[110]

The letters of Khwāja ᶜAlī shed light on the considerable interest expressed by members of the Samarqand Naqshbandīya in the lives of the Herat population. They also illustrate the significant degree of influence that Naqshbandī shaykhs such as Khwāja ᶜAlī exerted over the *sulṭāns* and state representatives of Khurāsān and Mawarannahr.

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[103] Letter nos. 386(392); 557(563.

[104] Letter no. 583(589).

[105] See Chapter Two for a discussion of his role in the mediation process.

[106] Letter no. 490(496). Khwāja ᶜAlī quotes verse from Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār concerning the "gift of forgiveness."

[107] Letter no. 557(563).

[108] Letter no. 584(590).

[109] This same subject is referred to in letter no. 585(591).

[110] For the migration of individuals, see nos. 562(568) and 581(587). For entire families, see nos. 558(564) and 578(584a,b).

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In a number of letters, Khwāja ᶜAlī petitions on behalf of the trade activities of Khwāja Aḥrār. For example, letter no. 386(392) is a petition for assistance in the sale of several *kharvar* of paper, sesame, rice, cotton, and other goods sent by Khwāja Aḥrār to sell in Herat.[111] Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters also include petitions that were written on behalf of the relatives of his brother-in-law and fellow disciple, ᶜAbd al-Avval.[112] In one he petitions for the protection of ᶜAbd al-Avval's relatives, who resided in Khurāsān, from the "oppression of the officials."[113]

Three letters that Khwāja ᶜAlī wrote together with Mawlānā Qāsim touch upon questions similar to those contained in the other letters of Khwāja ᶜAlī.[114] In one letter the two disciples convey the petition of Khwāja Aḥrār to release the son of the *ataka* (the prince's tutor) from prison and send him from Herat to Mawarannahr where his father resides.[115] Another letter expresses the gratitude of ᶜAbd al-Avval to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī for the favor he had shown to his relatives. They request, moreover, that the *vaqf* income of Khānshāh be shared by the brothers of ᶜAbd al-Avval, Amīr Nāṣr al-Dīn ᶜAlī, and Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth.[116]

5. Mawlānā Qāsim

Mawlānā Qāsim was born in the village of Farkat, near Tashkent. He spent almost fifty years in the service of Khwāja Aḥrār and was his loyal companion.[117] Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, who reports that Mawlānā Qāsim was the caretaker of the gardens (*bāghdār*), describes him as "the shadow of Khwāja Aḥrār."[118] He reports that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī did not have as much trust (*iᶜtiqād*) in any of the companions of the Ḥażrat-i Īshān as he did in Mawlānā Qāsim."[119] Khwāja Aḥrār

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[111] Trade is also the subject of letter no. 560(566) of Khwāja ᶜAlī.

[112] Letter nos. 582(588); 591(598); 592(599).

[113] Letter no. 591(598).

[114] There is also one fragment that is signed by Khwāja ᶜAlī and Qāsim, no. 594(601).

[115] Letter no. 391(397-398).

[116] Letter no. 593(600).

[117] For a discussion of Mawlānā Qāsim, see *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 597-603.; *Nasā'im,* fols. 178-179b; Eraslan's Turkish transliteration, 258-259.

[118] *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 597.

[119] According to Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, Jāmī said that "Mawlānā Qāsim was like

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sent him, usually as an agent, to rulers and high ranking persons with instructions on his behalf.[120] He died at the age of 88 on the 6th of Dhu'l Ḥijja, 891 (3 December, 1486).[121]

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* contains four letters signed by Mawlānā Qāsim, four signed by Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī, and twelve signed by Mawlānā Qāsim and ᶜAbd al-Avval.[122] Based on the contents, the four letters written exclusively by Mawlānā Qāsim appear to be addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. The contents of the letters of Mawlānā Qāsim, as with the letters of other disciples of Khwāja Aḥrār, concern Khwāja Aḥrār's political (in particular peacemaking) and economic activities. Thus, in letter no. 389(395), Mawlānā Qāsim reports to "the honorable servitors of his Majesty, the refuge of sovereignty (*ḥukūmat-panāhī*) [ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī] that Khwāja Aḥrār "issued a directive (*ishārat)* to the servitors of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Mīrzā" for the purposes of making peace.[123] In the same letter he requests assistance in the sale of goods sent to Herat by Khwāja Aḥrār (several *kharvar* of paper, cotton, sesame and rice).[124] In another letter, Mawlānā Qāsim conveys the petition of Khwāja Aḥrār to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā for the release of a prisoner named Sayyid ᶜImād al-Dīn.[125] In a third letter Mawlānā

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bread cured in butter, that is, all his pores are filled with this relationship (*nisbat*)." *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 599. It is not clear whether Kāshifī is referring to the relationship between himself and Mawlānā Qāsim or between Khwāja Aḥrār and Mawlānā Qāsim, although based on the context, it may have been the former. On the same page Kāshifī includes a letter written on his behalf by Jāmī to Mawlānā Qāsim in which he requests an audience with Khwāja Aḥrār.

[120] In letter 389(395), Mawlānā Qāsim appeals to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī in the name of Khwāja Aḥrār, asking him not to hamper the sale of Khwāja Aḥrār's goods in Herat (paper, cotton, sesame and rice) and to hasten a truce between the Timurid rulers Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. Among the letters of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī is a petition written on behalf of Khwāja Qāsim, to obtain an audience with the Sulṭān. Mawlānā Qāsim was apparently trying to secure the support of Jāmī for his meeting. See *Pis'ma-avtografy,* no. 199(204), fol. 27.

[121] *Nasā'im,* fols. 178b-179b; *Rashaḥāt*, citing ᶜAbd al-Avval's *Masmūᶜāt*, vol. 2, 602-03.

[122] The four letters of Mawlānā Qāsim are nos. 389(395); 390(396); 575(581); 587(593).

[123] See also letter no. 391(397-398) by Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī, which may refer to no. 389(395).

[124] As already noted, this was also the subject of a letter of Khwāja ᶜAlī. See no. 386(392).

[125] Letter no. 587(593).

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Qāsim sends greetings to the addressee, possibly ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, and expresses his satisfaction at having received a letter from him.[126] The fourth letter expresses his, Khwāja Aḥrār's, and ᶜAbd al-Avval's gratitude for the favor which was bestowed upon the relatives of ᶜAbd al-Avval.[127]

6. Muḥammad Tabādkānī

Muḥammad Tabādkānī, a poet and Sufi shaykh of Herat, is the author of several commentaries and theoretical works about Sufism, including *Sharḥ-i Ism Allāh, Sharḥ-i Manāzil al-sā'irīn, Mukhammas-i Qaṣīda-yi burda,* and he translated *Arbaᶜīn Ḥadīth* (Forty Ḥadiths) from Arabic into Persian.[128] Niẓāmī Bākharzī describes b. Muḥammad al-Kūsū'ī al-Jāmī and Mawlānā Shams al-Din Muḥammad b. Asad al-Tabādkānī as two learned Sufi scholars in Herat.[129] He was one of the disciples of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī.

The closeness between Muḥammad Tabādkānī and ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī is reflected in ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's construction of the khānqāh-i Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tabādkānī, which was built with a *jamāᶜat khāna* (assembly hall) and was located near Navā'ī's burial place in Khiyābān.[130] Tabādkānī died in 891/1486 at the age of eighty and is also buried in Khiyābān. The nature of the relationship between Tabādkānī and Khwāja Aḥrār is not clear; however Tabādkānī did meet with Khwāja Aḥrār in Samarqand in 866/1461-62. Five of Muḥammad Tabādkānī's letters are included in the album, all of which are signed الفقیر الداعی محمد تبادکانی, "The Needy Prayer-Sayer,

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[126] Letter no. 390(396).

[127] Letter no. 575(581).

[128] *Nasā'im,* fols. 277b-279a; Eraslan's Turkish transliteration, 396-398.

[129] *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī,* Tehran ed., 96.

[130] The *khānqāh* was located at the head of the Khiyābān, a prestigious location in late fifteenth- century Herat. For a discussion of the urban development of Herat in the Timurid period, see Terry Allen, *Timurid Herat* (Wisebaden, 1983), 17-35. See also Terry Allen, *A Catalogue of the Toponymns and Monuments of Timurid Herat.* Studies in Islamic Architecture, no. 1 (Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture and MIT, Cambridge, 1981), 153; *Nasā'im,* fols. 277b-279a; *Eraslan,* 396-97; *Masmūᶜāt*, fol. 201a; Khwāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq: A Treatise on ᶜAlīshīr Navā'ī by Ghiyāth ad-Dīn b. Humām ad-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāndamīr,"* ed. in facsimile from the MS add. 7669 in the British Museum with introduction and indices, T. Gandjeï (Cambridge, 1979), fol. 145b; Khwāndamīr, *Mäkarimul akhläq*, Uzbek trans., Parsa Shämsiev (Tashkent, 1967), 66.

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Muḥammad Tabādkānī."[131] Two letters reflect his high regard for the state officals who are the addressees. In letter no. 417(423) he addresses Amīr Sayyid Ḥasan with the *laqab*, "Tāj al-Dīn Dawla va'l-Dīn," and in letter no. 418(424) Tabādkānī addresses Amīr Shaykh Aḥmad with the *laqab*, "Niẓām al-Dawla va'l-Dīn." In the former letter, Tabādkānī advises Shaykh Aḥmad on perfecting the truths of the Sufi path. In the latter he petitions Amīr Sayyid Ḥasan on behalf of Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ziyāratgāhī, who was dismissed from his position as *khitābat-i ziyārātgāhī* and assigned to a new mosque; Tabādkānī requests that his original position be restored.[132] In a third letter he asks to restore the right of the Sufis to cultivate land (*zirāᶜat*) in the hamlet of Gavāja(?).[133] In one brief letter Muḥammad Tabādkānī bestows blessings upon the addressee along with prayers for his continued support of the poor and the pious, and in a fifth letter he petitions to find the perpetrators (*lavandān*) of a bloody incident, the results of which caused the Sufis to suffer.[134]

7. Khwāja Muḥammad Yaḥyā

Muḥammad Yaḥyā is the younger son of Khwāja Aḥrār. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī states that he was so beloved and dear to Khwājā Aḥrār that at the end of his life he made him his successor (*qā'im-maqām*) and assigned to him the supervising (*tawliyat*) "of his own illuminated shrine" (*mazār-i fā'iż-anvār-i khūd*).[135] He travelled several times from Samarqand to Herat, meeting there with ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. Muḥammad Yaḥyā, together with his two sons, was killed after leaving Samarqand (near Tātkand) by a detachment of the Khān's Uzbeks on the 15th of Muḥarram, 908 (2 August, 1500) and was buried next to his father in the cemetery at Khwāja Aḥrār's *khanqāh* in the Kafshīr quarter of Samarqand.[136]

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[131] Letter nos. 417(423)-421(426).

[132] Letter no. 418(424).

[133] Letter no. 421(427). Only part of the name is legible, and to our knowledge, there are no references to the place name Gavāja. It may be the village of Karūcha, which is mentioned in letter no. 423(419); but it is referred to as a village (*qarya*) in no. 423(419) and a hamlet (*mawżaᶜ*) in no. 421(427).

[134] Letter no. 420(426).

[135] *Rashaḥāt* vol. 2, 579.

[136] HS, vol. 4, 109; *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 579-588; *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī,* Tehran ed., 100;

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There are six letters of Muḥammad Yaḥyā in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* and his signature appears as الفقیر یحیی, "the faqīr, Yaḥyā."[137] Two of Yaḥyā's letters are of a personal nature and reflect a close relationship with the addressee, who may be ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.[138] In these letters Yaḥyā sends the addressee prayers and greetings, expresses his respect, and requests that the addressee remember him. In another letter Muḥammad Yaḥyā reports that he received a letter from the addressee with news of reconciliation (*sulḥ*) and expresses his joyful response.[139] In the remaining letters he appeals on behalf of a number of people, including the retinue of Amīr Muḥammad Amīn.[140] In another letter Yaḥyā petitions on behalf of Khwāja Żiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad to preserve the property of his father following his death;[141] and in a final letter Yaḥyā requests that protection be provided for Khwāja Sayyid Muḥammad, a Naqshbandī who was traveling from Mawarannahr to Khurāsān.[142]

8. Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh

Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh is the elder son of Khwāja Aḥrār.[143] Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, referring to him as Ḥażrat-i Khwājakā, reports that he was "adorned with all kinds of exoteric and esoteric knowledge and was very learned."[144] He praises his knowledge of the sciences, theology, and law, makes note of his rigorous studies, and comments that Khwāja Aḥrār had a degree of respect for him that exceeded that of a father for a son. Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh lived in Samarqand and fled to Andijan during the attack of Shībānī Khān in 1500.[145]

Maqāmāt-i Mawlāvī Jāmī, MS IVANRUz, no. 1354, fol. 108a-b.

[137] Letter nos. 443(449); 448(454); 449(455); 484(490); 485(491); 490(495).

[138] Letter nos. 449(455); 484(490).

[139] Letter no. 489(495). Khwāja Żiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad is the son of Pahlavān Saᶜd al-Dīn.

[140] Letter no. 448(454).

[141] Letter no. 443(449).

[142] Letter no. 484(491).

[143] For purposes of consistency, we will use the signature name as written in his letters. *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 572. Babur refers to him as "Khwājakā Khwāja," BN, 62, whereas Khwāndamīr refers to him as 'Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Muḥammad," HS, vol. 4, 109. He is also known as Khwāja Kalān-Khwāja and Khwāja-Khwāja. See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 400, n. 199.

[144] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 572.

[145] *Maāthir-ul-umarā: being biographies of the Muhammadan and Hindu officers*

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Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh's first wife was the daughter of Sayyid Naqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī, and they had three sons and two daughters.[146] After the death of his wife, he married the daughter of Khwāja Muḥammad Niẓām, who was the brother of the Shaykh al-Islām, Khwājā ᶜIsām al-Dīn.[147]

Bābur discusses the political role played by Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh after the death of Khwāja Aḥrār. When the Tarkhān begs revolted in Samarqand in 901/1495, Bāysunghur Mīrzā (son of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Mīrzā) was supported by Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh.[148] He is buried in Tashkent in the cemetary of Qaffāl-i Shāshī.[149]

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* contains three letters of Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh in which he requests support in connection with the inheritance of property of a deceased relative, permission for a servant of the court in Herat to return home to his family in Samarqand, and favor to the "honorable Pahlavān."[150]

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of the Timurid sovereigns of India from 1500 to about 1780 AD, Navvāb Samsām al-Dawla Shāh Navāz Khān and his son ᶜAbdul Hayy. 2nd ed., trans. H. Beveridge; revised, annotated and completed by Baini Prashad (Patna, 1979, 2 vols. in 3), vol. 2:2, 808. Hereafter cited as *Maāthir-ul-umarā*.

[146] *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 579; *Maāthir-ul-umarā*, vol. 2:2, 808. The three sons from this marriage were Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Hādī, Khwāja Khāvand Maḥmūd, and Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Khāliq.

[147] ᶜIsām al-Dīn was a descendant of Mawlānā Burḥān al-Dīn ᶜAlī. *Maāthir-ul-umarā*, vol. 2, 808. Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh had three sons and two daughters from his second marriage. The names of the latter sons are Khwāja ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlīm, Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Shahīd, and Khwāja Abū'l Fayż. Stephen Dale and Richard Foltz have studied Aḥrāri-Mughal connections, including intermarriage between the Mughal elite and the progeny of Khwāja Aḥrār. See Stephen Dale, "Ashraf Sufis: Ahrari Naqshbandis in Early Mughal India," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, 1997), 1-9; Richard Foltz, "The Central Asian Naqshbandī Connections of the Mughal Emperors," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7:2(1996):229-239. See also Stephen Dale and Alam Payind, "The Ahrārī *Waqf* in Kābul in the Year 1546 and the Mughūl Naqshbandiyyah," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119(1999): 218-233.

[148] On Bābur's relations with the Tarkhān begs of Samarqand, and the role of Khwāja Aḥrār's sons in the conflict, see BN, 62-64. See also Stephen Dale and Alam Payind, "The Ahrārī *Waqf* in Kābul," 220-222, and B. Kazakov, "Synov'ia Khodzhi Akhrara i poslednie Timuridy," in *Dukhovenstvo i politicheskaia zhizn' na Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoka v period feodalizma* (Moscow, 1982), 80-91.

[149] BN, 128; *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 1, 76-77.

[150] Letter nos. 444(450), 486(492) and 488(494).

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9. Khwāja Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlā' al-ᶜAṭṭār

Khwāja Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlā' al-ᶜAṭṭār (known as Khwāja Ḥasan ᶜAṭṭār) was the grandson of ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 802/1400), the successor to Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389).[151] Khwāja Muḥammad's signature reads as خادم الابرار محمد بن حسن بن علاء العطار, "Servant of the pious, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan b. ᶜAlā' al-Aṭṭār."

Khwāja Muḥammad was regarded with great esteem by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, who describes him as "the son of Khwāja ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, and the fruit of his tree of guardianship (*valāya*)." He continues to discuss his spiritual abilities. "In all of Mawarannahr and Khurāsān the quality of his divine attraction (*jadhba*) over his pupils and visitors is well known. Whoever arrives to pay him homage collapses and enters into an invisible state (*ghaybat*) and into ecstasy (*bīkhūdī*)."[152]

Three of Khwāja Muḥammad's letters are included in the album,[153] two of which are connected to a family that had migrated from Mawarannahr and wished to be united in their homeland.[154] In one letter Khwāja Muḥammad reports that a certain Amīr Sayyid Maḥmūd has returned to Mawarannahr, and the Khwāja requests permission for his family to join him. In a second letter Khwāja Muḥammad apparently petitions on behalf of the same family which, "because of the events of the time," had emigrated from their homeland. He seeks permission for them to return to Mawarannahr from Khurāsān.[154] In a third letter, Khwāja Muḥammad petitions for assistance for a certain Shaykh Shīrāzī in his pilgrimage to Mecca.

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[151] *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 158-160; *Nafaḥat al-uns*, 401-402.

[152] *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, p. 401. See also *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 1, 158-160. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī bases his remarks about Khwājā Muḥammad on Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-uns*.

[153] Letter nos. 482(488); 483(489); 487(493).

[154] Letter no. 482(488). Based on the content of the two letters it is probable that they concern the same family. In letter no. 487(493), Amīr Sayyid Maḥmūd has already returned.

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10. Abū Saᶜīd

Abū Saᶜīd, a disciple of Khwāja Aḥrār, was a native of Awbah, a village near Herat.[155] When he was young he studied in Samarqand in the Ulugh Beg madrasa, after which he became a devotee of Khwāja Aḥrār and remained with him for thirty-five years.[156] Khwāja Aḥrār thought very highly of him, and in one of his letters he petitions on behalf of Abū Saᶜīd's family to ensure that they do not experience any hardship in Khurāsān.[157]

The *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* contains three of his letters, one of which he signs as الفقیر الحقیر ابو سعید, "The humble *faqīr*, Abū Saᶜīd"[158] and two he signs as اقل العبید ابو سعید, "The most humble servant, Abū Saᶜīd."[159] Although the addressee of the letters is not named, in one letter Abū Saᶜīd uses the epithet of ᶜAlī, *Shāh-ī Mardān.*[160] It is possible, therefore, to conjecture that the addressee is ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī and that the other two letters were likewise addressed to him.

Abū Saᶜīd's letters reveal his close relationship with the addressee and convey his good wishes and prayers. In one letter he prays that God will protect ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī from evil and grant him divine favor, referring to him as "that nightingale of the heart-enrapturing garden, and that falcon of the heaven of friendship."[161] In another letter Abū Saᶜīd conveys wishes for Navā'ī's continued support of the weak and destitute.[162] In his third letter Abū Saᶜīd reports that a certain Sayyid Qūlī has repented and that he will not act in any way contary to the wish of the addressee.[163]

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[155] See *Jughrāfīya-yi Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, 91-93. For a discussion of Mawlānā Abū Saᶜīd, see *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, II, 621-26. Kāshifī refers to him as Mawlānā Abū Saᶜīd Awbahī.

[156] See the *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 621-623 for a discussion of Abū Saᶜīd's first meeting with Khwāja Aḥrār and his subsequent study with him. Abū Saᶜīd remained with Khwāja Aḥrār during his illness and through the night when he died in the village of Kamāngarān. *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 656.

[157] No. 555(561). Khwāja Aḥrār wanted to circumvent any possibility that Abū Saᶜīd might have to interrupt his service to him.

[158] Letter no. 460(466)

[159] Letter nos. 461(467) and 462(468).

[160] Letter no. 460(466).

[161] Letter no. 460(466).

[162] Letter no. 461(467).

[163] Letter no. 462(468).

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11. Saᶜd al-Dīn

The only information about Saᶜd al-Dīn provided in the *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei*'s description of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* is his date of death.[164] The author is likely to have been Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī, the Sufi master of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, who died in 860(1456). The two letters of Saᶜd al-Dīn that are included in the album would have been addressed to Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd (1451-1469) rather than to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506). Consequently, the chronological range of the letters in the *Masmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* may be earlier than previously thought.

One letter is signed as الفقیر الداعی سعد الدین, "The humble prayer-sayer, Saᶜd al-Dīn."[165] In contrast, a signature in a second letter reads as, اقل عبد الله الداعی سعد الله, "The most humble of the servants of God, the prayer-sayer, Saᶜd Allāh."[166] Despite the differences, the handwriting of the words "Saᶜd al-Dīn" and "al-dāᶜī" are identical. It is possible that in the second letter the name "Saᶜd Allāh was written to rhyme with "Abd Allāh," and that the letter was written down as dictated by the author.

Both letters are of a personal nature and reflect friendly relations between the author and the addressee. In letter no. 466(472), after expressing his good wishes to the *sulṭān* (who is unnamed) and his retinue, Saᶜd al-Dīn reports the receipt by the dervishes of a letter that was sent to them from the *sulṭān*. The letter contained references to Sufi concepts of the manifest and sublime, prayers and supplications, and a reference to a vow made by the addressee to support the needs of the dervishes and the welfare of the Muslims. In the postscript, Saᶜd al-Dīn reports that the dervishes received the prayer beads from Mecca that were sent to them. In the second letter, after appropriate praises to God for religion and state, Saᶜd al-Dīn reports that a certain Darvīsh ᶜAlī was departing to serve at the court of the *sulṭān*, and he petitions on his behalf for the *sulṭān's* favor.

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[164] Khwāndamīr lists Kāshgharī's date of death as the 6th of Jumada II 860 (May 12, 1456). If the author is indeed Kāshgharī, the death date of "860/1455 or 862/1457," as listed in the SVR, is incorrect. See SVR i, 150, HS, 59; *Maṭlaᶜ-i saᶜdayn*, II, 1102 and Hamid Algar, "Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī," EI^2.

[165] Letter no. 465(471).

[166] Letter no. 466(472).

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12. Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik

There is scant information about Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik, the author of one letter in the album.[167] Khwāndamīr refers to a Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik as one of the "great men of the pen" (*dar silk-i aᶜẓam-i ahl-i qalam*) during the time of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.[168] The letter is addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navāᶜī, *Muqārrib al-Ḥażrat al-Sulṭān, Amīr-i Kabīr ... Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr*, "the intimate of his Majesty the Sulṭān, the great *amīr* ... Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr."[169] This title was awarded to Navāᶜī in 1489 after his return from Astarabad where he was appointed ruler in 1487 following his removal from state office.[170] Based on these circumstances, it is possible to conditionally date the letter as having been written no earlier than 1489.

The signature in the letter reads الداعی بالخیر محمد بن عبد الملك, "The one who prays for [your] benefit, Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik." In his letter, the author requests Navā'ī's attention and favor on behalf of the bearer of the letter, the learned Mawlānā Isḥāq al-Niẓāmī.

13. Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn

The author's full name, according to Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, is Sayyid Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī, the father-in-law of Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh, the elder son of Khwāja Aḥrār.[171] His one letter in the collection is signed الفقیر الداعی محمد تقی الدین, "The needy prayer-sayer, Taqī al-Dīn."[172] He makes two requests in the letter: first, that the addressee show favor to the bearer of the letter, who was apparently living in Mawarannahr for a long time and was traveling to Herat to visit his mother; second, that the addressee give the *vaqf-nāma* of the shrine of Qutham bin ᶜAbbās in Samarqand to the bearer of the letter

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[167] Letter no. 445(451).

[168] HS, vol. 4, 357.

[169] Letter no. 445(451), line 1-2.

[170] V.V. Barthold [Bartol'd], "Mir Ali-Shir i politicheskaia zhizn'," *Sochineniia*, 2:2, 243-244 (Moscow, 1964); *Ozbek Ädäbiyäti Tärihi*, vol. 2, fol. 70b. This title is found in a letter of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to Yaᶜqūb Beg, the Aqquyunlu ruler of Azerbaijan (1478-1490) written on the occasion of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's appointment as ruler of Astarabad in 1487 and the investiture of power to carry out diplomatic relations with neighboring lands. See Roemer, SN 57a; ᶜAbdallāh Marvārīd, *Munshaᶜāt-i Marvārīd*, MS IVANRUz, no. 286/I, fol. 25b-26b.

[171] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 560; 579.

[172] Letter no. 387(393).

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to bring back to Muḥammad Taqī al-Din. He writes that some of the endowments of the shrine were being managed by different persons and that the stipulations regarding the expediture of revenues were not known. Based on the honorific title with which Kāshifī refers to Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn, *Ḥażrat-i naqābat-manqabat*, he was apparently the *naqīb* (manager) of the shrine.[173] The letter suggests that either the *vaqf-nāma* had been lost or misplaced, or that there was some dispute over the administration of the endowments.[174]

14. Shaykh Ṣūfī ᶜAlī

Shaykh Ṣūfī ᶜAlī, a native of Khurāsān who died at the end of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's rule (1469-1506), was, according to Khwāndamīr, "one of the great *mūrīds* of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī."[175] His one letter in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* is signed خادم الفقراء و المساكين صوفی علی, "Servant of the needy and the poor, Ṣūfī ᶜAlī." In the letter, Ṣūfī ᶜAlī conveys his gratitude to the addressee for donating money for the travel expenses of the dervishes and reports that 600 dinars were received; Darvīsh Maḥmūd Shāh was holding another 400 dinars.[176] Ṣūfī ᶜAlī asks that the delivery of the remaining 400 dinars be expedited.

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[173] *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 560. For a thorough discussion of the post of *naqīb* from the ᶜAbbāsid revolution to the eighteenth century in Central Asia, see Devin DeWeese, "The Descendants of Sayyid Ata and the Rank of *Naqīb* in Central Asia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115.4(1995):610-634. In the Timurid period the title *naqīb* was most commonly used to refer to an official in charge of a shrine. The *naqīb* often supervised the endowments and exercised administrative control over the shrine, as detailed by Robert McChesney in *Waqf in Central Asia*, 41-44 (also cited by DeWeese, "The Descendants of Sayyid Ata," 617-618). His title may have also indicated hereditary sanctity. For a discussion of the shrine of Qutham bin ᶜAbbās and its architectural setting, see Roya Marefat, "Beyond the Architecture of Death: The Shrine of the Shah-i Zinda in Samarqand" (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1991), 69-75.

[174] It was not uncommon for copies of *vaqf* documents to be distributed to various cities or towns. In this case, there was apparently a copy of the Qutham bin ᶜAbbās *vaqf-nāma* in Herat.

[175] HS, vol. 4, 347. Khwāfī, the founder of the Zaynī order in fifteenth century Herat, is an important Sufi shaykh of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. See *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 493-495. Prior to Khwāja Aḥrār's return to Tashkent at the age of 29, he spent four years in Herat, and Kāshifī writes that he was in companionship (*ṣuḥbat)* with Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 416.

[176] No. 422(428). These expenses may have been used for pilgrimage to Mecca.

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15. Muḥammad Khwāja(?)

The signature of the author is not entirely legible. It is only possible to read, محبه مخلصه...محمد خواجه, "The sincere lover of Him ... Muḥammad Khwāja." In the catalogue *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei* he is referred to as Muḥammad ibn Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn; however, such a reading cannot be corroborated.[177] In Adilov's copies of the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt* he notes that the signature is illegible.

Based on the content of his one letter, Muḥammad Khwāja was a disciple of Khwāja Aḥrār.[178] In his letter he requests an audience with ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, whom he addresses as *Muqārrib al-Ḥażrat al-Sulṭān*, "intimate of his Royal Majesty." Following the example of his *pīr*, he went to Merv to visit the gravesites and places where Khwāja Aḥrār had stayed. The letter was therefore likely written soon after the death of Khwāja Aḥrār (d. 1490).

[177] SVR, vol. 4, 347.
[178] No. 447(453).

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PART TWO

THE *MAJMŪᶜA-YI MURĀSALĀT*
ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND PERSIAN TRANSCRIPTION

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13[1]

After the statement of supplication, the petition [*ʿarża-dasht*] of this *faqīr* [2] is that:

Were I not to say what is inside [me]
[My] innards would turn to blood.

The cup of this *faqīr*'s condition is in utter ruin because of the misfortunes whose cause is not concealed from the people of discernment; its ruin is not such that even a part of it can be made clear through writing or describing. All that can be said is that "He who turns his eyes from God just once will never find the guidance of God for the rest of his life." There is no true felicity except through the continuation of good fortune [*iqbāl*][3] in heart and in body. It will be clear what will come of opposing engagement in the continuation of good fortune against that which hinders the reality of good fortune. Until now, release for this *faqīr* has not been achieved; the time of death has arrived.[4] What can one do at this time? If God, may He be glorified, would arrange through His pure kindness, for rulers to expend their efforts on obtaining true felicity, [then] it would serve for the maintenance of the subjects [*raʿīya*] and the spread of the Sharīʿa of His Prophet. It was hoped that *faqīrs* like ourselves, having benefited and been blessed by the lights of [these rulers], would be able to attend to the important affairs of the time; [but] inasmuch as discord occurs among people for the sake of fleeting pleasures [*ḥużūż-i ʿājila*], how can *faqīrs* such as ourselves attain the felicity of striving toward [our] goal [*maqṣūd*]? It was hoped, from the infinite graces of God, may He glorified, that through his pure kindness, he may bestow [upon us] the awareness that brings the attainment of true

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[1] Letter nos. 1-12 are those of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[2] The term "*faqīr*," which literally means "needy," is commonly used to refer to Sufis. Khwāja Aḥrār often refers to himself as "this *faqīr*," and signs his name "*al-faqīr*, ʿUbayd Allāh."

[3] Here *iqbāl* refers to the "turning to face God" that brings good fortune.

[4] Khwāja ʿAḥrār apparently wrote this letter toward the end of his life. He laments his inability to obtain spiritual release because of the discord caused by the Timurid rulers. On the one hand, Khwāja Aḥrār chastises the rulers for their earthly desires that have led to discord (an allusion to the prevalence of conflicts among the Timurid princes), and on the other he advises the rulers to find true happiness through the propagation of the Sharīʿa, the support of the populace, and the favor shown to the *faqīrs* (Sufis).

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happiness—that is, that He may grant [to us] true *iqbāl*[5] toward Almighty God, may He be glorified. Through His grace and His bounty. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

13

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیرآنکه

گر نگویم آنچه دارم درون　　بمن جگرها گردد اندر حال خون

بادی احوال این فقیر بسبب آنکه بسبب عوارضی که علت آن بر اذکیا پوشیده نیست بس خرابست خرابی نه چنانکه به تحریر و تقریر چیزی از آن مبین شود آنچه توان اندکی گفت آنکه من غمض بصره عن الله طرفة عین لم یهتد الیه طول عمره سعادت حقیقی جز در دوام اقبال نیست قلبا و قالبا روشن خواهد بود که اشتغال ا دوام اقبالرا به آنچه از حقیقت اقبال مانع است در مقابله چه خواهد بود تا این غایت این فقیررا خلاصی میسر نشد هنگام مردن رسید این زمان چه توان کرد اگر حق سبحانه پادشاهانرا بمحض عنایت چنان سازد که همت ایشان مصروف بیافت سعادت حقیقی باشد بنگاه داشت رعیت بود و ترویج شریعت پیغامبر خود امید بود که امثال ما فقیران از انوار ایشان مستفید و مستفیض شده توانستیمی به اهم وقت مشغول شد چونکه در میان انسان از برای حظوظ عاجله مخالفت واقع است امثال ما فقیران بسعادت توجه بمقصود چون توانیم رسید امید از

[5] As above, *iqbāl* refers to the "turning to face God" that brings good fortune.

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الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه بمحض عنایت آگاهی که موجب
یافت سعادت حقیقی گردد یعنی اقبال حقیقی بجناب حق
سبحانه روزی گرداند بمنه و کرمه و السلام

14

After the statement of supplication, the petition [*ᶜarża-dasht*] of this *faqīr* is that in the letter of favor [*ᶜināyat-nāma*] you had kindly sent it had been said, "You had said that we are hoping one time to grant your request. We have always accepted whatever has been requested. Why has such a thing occurred?" It is clear as the sun to all people that the benevolence and favors of his Majesty to this *faqīr* and the number of favors which have been issued from the servitors [of the court] to this *faqīr* cannot be imagined by anyone. There was no other intention but the request presented on behalf of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd at the time when Mawlānā Khwāja ᶜAlī had gained service [with you] and was presenting the petition of this helpless one before the servitors.[6] We are making that same [petition]. If there has been

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[6] Khwāja ᶜAlī was a disciple and son-in-law of Khwāja Aḥrār, whose title of *vakīl* indicates the responsibility and authority he held in the Samarqand Naqshbandī community. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 633-34. Muḥammad Haydar Dughlāt indicates that Khwāja ᶜAlī was the spiritual guide of Sulṭān-Aḥmad as well as the intermediary between Khwāja Aḥrār and Sulṭān-Aḥmad. See TR, Persian text, 105; English trans., 143. For a review of Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters, see Chapter 3. As mentioned, Khwāja ᶜAlī often traveled to the Herat court on behalf of Khwāja Aḥrār, and a number of his letters concern the ensuing conflict between the Timurid princes and Khwāja Aḥrār's attempts to mediate. In many of his letters Khwāja ᶜAlī appeals to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to support the peace process; see letter nos. 490(496), 557(563), 584(590), and 585(591). This letter most likely refers to the conflict between Sulṭān-Aḥmad, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, and ᶜUmar-Shaykh, three sons of Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd. This was not the first time Khwāja Aḥrār intervened in such hostilities. During the reign of Abū Saᶜīd, Sulṭān-Aḥmad and ᶜUmar-Shaykh had organized an army to attack Samarqand, which was under the rule of Sulṭān-Aḥmad. For references to these hostilities, see HS, vol. 4, 109; HS Thackston, tome 3, 410; Mawlānā Shaykh, *Manāqib-i Aḥrār*, MS IVANRUz, no. 8237/I, fols. 118a-119b; Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn Samarqandī (Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī), *Silsilat*, fols. 171b-173b. In response, Sulṭān-Aḥmad positioned himself to defend his territory and brought in Khwāja Aḥrār to negotiate a peace settlement. For a discussion of Khwāja Aḥrār's role in the conflict, see Jo-Ann Gross, "A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power and Prestige in the Late Timurid Period," 117-123; 182-185. The present

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an error in writing it, we ask for forgiveness. I trust that with the forgiving light of his Majesty, the darkness of punishment for transgression and error …[7] shall disappear. Now the petition of this *faqīr* is this. Because of what has been happening among the kinsmen [*khvīshān*], much hardship has come, and continues to come, upon the people. Many have been taken into captivity and are being taken into captivity. We are requesting that to relieve the Muslim people, his Majesty should call his relations near to him. If this request is beyond limits, it is to be attributed to [my] ignorance and we shall repent from having made it. We have hope in the boundless grace of the Almighty that He may render successful all those who strive to do good for the Muslim populace. To His grace and respect. Peace and respect!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

14

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه در عنایت نامه که بمحض عنایت ارسال فرموده بودند اشارت فرموده شده بود که تو گفته که یك کرت در خواست مارا قبول کنند ما همیشه آنچه ملتمس است قبول کرده ایم چرا چنین واقع شده است پیش همه مردم چون آفتاب روشن شده است الطاف ا عنایت آنحضرت بنسبت این فقیر آن مقدارعنایت که ملازمان بنسبت این فقیر واقع شده است از هیچ کس متصور نیست مقصود جز آن نبود که ملتمس که در براه میرزا سلطان محمود کرده شده بود در آنوقت که مولانا خواجه علی بملازمان رسیده بود عرض ملتمس این در مانده پیش ملازمان کرده بود همان صورترا التماس کنیم اگر در

letter indicates Khwāja Aḥrār's persistence in finding a resolution, since we learn that Khwāja ʿAlī had already presented Khwāja Aḥrār's petition to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to recall the princes and relieve the Muslim population in Mawarannahr.

[7] Text unclear.

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كتابت سهوی واقع شده باشد استعفاد استغفاد می کنیم یقین که بنور عفو آن حضرت ظلمت جریمه تقصیر و سهو[8]... محو خواهد شد حالا بر این صورت ملتمس این فقیر هست چه بسبب آنکه آنچه در میان خویشان واقع است بسی زحمت بمردم رسید و می رسد بسیاران اسیر شدند و می شوند می خواهیم که آن حضرت از برای خلاصیٔ مسلمین خویشان خودرا بخود نزدیك گردانند اگر این التماس از حد استغامت بیرون باشد از نادانی باشد استغفاررا شعار خود سازیم امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه همه را بتوفیق آنچه خیر مسلمین است بمحض عنایت موفق گرداند بمنه و کرمه و اسلام و الاکرام

الفقیر عبید الله

15

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that at a time when discord has surrounded that side [Khurāsān] some people have passed through this side [Mawarannahr] and have carried off five male and young female slaves [*panj sar ghulām va kanīzak*] from among the people who are connected [*taᶜalluq*] with this *faqīr*.[9] Sheep

[8] Text unclear.

[9] The term *taᶜalluq* is used in the sense of possession or employment. Slaves are mentioned in a *vaqfīyya* of Khwāja Aḥrār dated 1489, which was drawn up for the benefit of the institutions of his shrine complex (*Muḥawwata-yi mullāyān*) in the village of Khwāja Kafshīr in Samarqand, and for the benefit of his male heirs. See SD, doc. 10, lines 735, 736, and 741, p. 172. Approximately 50 male and female slaves are mentioned, most of whom were from India and were intended to work on the *bāgh-i Māturīd* in Samarqand. There is also mention of revenues stipulated for 100 servants (*khuddām*), who could be slaves or freemen, who were to carry out domestic chores in Māturīd. For a discussion of this issue, see Paul, *Die politische*, 117.

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and horses were also being carried off. If your honor has no knowledge of this it would be very kind if you would send a note [to that effect]. I trust that because of your noble mind, the property will be returned to [its] master. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

15

بعد از رفع نیازآنکه در زمانی که تفرقه محاصره بران طرف است
این طرف گذشته اند پنج سر غلام و کنیزك از مردمی که تعلق
باین فقیر دارند برده اند گوسفند و اسب نیز برده اند اگر بعنایت
خدمت شما آن چیز ندارنده خط رسد عنایتی خواهد بود یقین
است که به التفات خاطر شریف آن چیزها بخداوند خواهد رسید
والسلام

الفقیر عبید الله

16

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that his honor, Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth was here [in Mawarannahr] for some time.[10] Due to the need [created by] the death of his father, he left [for Khurāsān] to protect the household [*mutaᶜalliqān*]. It is hoped that by the grace of [your] noble mind he shall not suffer there. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār.

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[10] Abū'l-Ghayth is the brother of ᶜAbd al-Avval Nīshapūrī, a disciple and son-in-law of Khwāja Aḥrār. Their father bequeathed the hamlet of Khānshāh in Nīshāpūr to them as a family *vaqf*. The legal status of Khānshāh, the distribution of the revenues of the endowment, and the condition of the family of ᶜAbd al-Avval are the subject of numerous letters in the album. See, for example, letter nos. 375(381), 376(382a,b), 377(383a,b), 381(387), 383(389a,b), 575(581), 576(582), 582(588), 589(595), 591(698), 592(599).

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16

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت امیر ابوالغیث چندگاهی اینجا بودند بضرورت آنکه حضرت والد ایشان بجوار رحمت انتقال فرموده اند برای محافظت متعلقان رفتند یقین آنست که به التفات خاطر شریف ایشان آنجا زحمت نخواهند کشید والسلام

17

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that the bearer of the letter of petition [*ruqᶜa-yi niyāz*] is from our region [Mawarannahr]. He has kinsmen and family [*khvīshān va mutaᶜalliqān*] here and wishes to come to his own region to join his followers. It is requested from the servitors [of the court] that, with [your] intercession, he may be relieved from service so he may join his relatives.[11] It is hoped that you will grant this request and intercession will be made available [on his behalf]. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

17

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز از ولایت ماست اینجا خویشان و متعلقان دارد میخواهد که بولایت خود پیش خویشان بیاید التماس از ملازمان آنست که بشفاعت ایشان از ملازمت خلاص شده پیش خویشان خود بیاید یقین آنست که ملتمس مبذول داشته شفاعت ارزانی خواهند داشت والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[11] The bearer of the letter evidently serves at the Herat court and wishes to be relieved from his employment in order to return to his native region in Mawarannahr.

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18

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that it is clear to the servitors of his Majesty that Mawlānā Amīr, whose family is here [in Mawarannahr], is constantly awaiting his eminence to show them mercy and grant permission to Mawlānā Amīr to come here. They are constantly requesting from this *faqīr*, "Request the servitors of his Majesty to show mercy and give permission to Mawlānā Amīr." Due to their sorrow, I am being so bold as to request that Mawlānā Amīr be given permission. I trust that mercy will be shown to the family [of Mawlānā Amīr] here, and that he will be given permission. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

18

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه پیش ملازمان آن حضرت معلوم
است که مولانا امیر را متعلقان که اینجا هستند همیشه انتظار
می کشند که از آن جناب ترحم بنسبت ایشان کرده مولانا امیر را
اجازت فرمایند اینجا بیایند همیشه ازین فقیر التماس میکنند که از
ملازمان آن حضرت التماس کن که ترحم نموده مولانا امیر را
اجازت فرمایند بضرورت الم ایشان گستاخی نموده التماس
میکنیم که مولانا امیر را اجازت فرموده شود یقین که ترحم بر
متعلقان اینجایی نموده اجازت خواهد یافت والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

19

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is this: it is not hidden from the radiant, informed mind of his Majesty that this *faqīr*'s only thought is for the princes to attain felicity in the two

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worlds, in the fullest and most perfect manner, through conformity to the Sharīᶜa. Accordingly, the request is always for nothing but conformity and obedience to the Sharīᶜa of [the Prophet] Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family). Especially at this time when the Muslims are experiencing difficulties on both sides [Khurāsān and Mawarannahr], nothing other than requesting peace comes to mind. Therefore, the bearer of this letter of petition [*ruqᶜa-yi niyāz*] was sent so the servitors of [his Majesty's] court would turn attention to the business of peace so the Muslims on both sides [Mawarannahr and Khurāsān] are freed from suffering. We trust that this request will not be denied. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

19

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه بر ضمیر منیر خبیر آن حضرت پوشیده نیست که این فقیر[را] عقیده جز آن نیست که مخدوم زاده گان بسعادت دارین بر وجه اتم و اکمل بموافقت شریعت مشرف شوند بنابرآن همیشه التماس جز موافقت و متابعت شریعت حضرت محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله نیست بتخصیص درین وقت که مسلمین از جانبین در زحمت شده اند جز التماس صلح هیچ چیز بر خاطر نمی آید بنابرآن دارنده رقعه نیاز را فرستاده شد که ملازمان آن درگاه قصه صلح بر خاطر آورده چنان کنند که مسلمین جانبین از زحمت خلاص شوند یقین که ملتمس مردود نخواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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20

The prophet Solomon, (May the blessings of God be upon our Prophet and upon him), the pinnacle of magnanimity, required that the obstacles to the closeness to the blessings of the Almighty, which consist of carrying out the duties of obedience [to Him], be undertaken with heart and body, esoterically and spiritually, in true supplication and humbling [of oneself]. Without conquering the wicked carnal souls of *jinns* and humans, finding this meaning [*maʿnā*][12] will not be fully achieved.The attainment of this ability is not possible except through the Almighty. Through the utmost knowledge and perfect gnosis [*lā-jaram, az sar-i dānish va kamāl-i maʿrifat*] in the expression of supplications, he appealed to God, saying, "O Lord, forgive me, and give me such a dominion as none will merit after me."[13] Whatever the master of magnanimity in whose essence the desire for the attainment of happiness is imprinted, out of necessity, he shall do all that shall be the cause of finding this kind of ability. The subjugation of the carnal souls [*nufūs-i sharīra*] is sometimes through force and sometimes through magnanimity. The request from his Majesty is that [he] shall subjugate some through magnanimity so the people will be relieved from hardship. If subjugation is not feasible through magnanimity, then out of necessity he must undertake the means to bring them under [control] by force, on the condition that in undertaking those means, he [should] observe the command [*farmān*] of the master of the Sharīʿa [*ṣāḥib-i Sharīʿa*, Muḥammad], (the utmost greetings and blessings be upon him), because the universal goal is reverence for the master of the Sharīʿa and of the Sharīʿa [itself]. What is understood from the course [of action] of the servitors of both sides is that lawful permission is not [being] observed.[14]

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[12] *Maʿna* refers to the inner reality or meaning.

[13] Qur'ān, 38:35. Khwāja Aḥrar refers to suprarational and rational knowledge in using the terms *maʿrifat* (gnosis) and *dānish* (knowledge or learning), although the term *ʿilm* is usually used for knowledge possessed by man.

[14] This letter contrasts the actions of Solomon with those of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. In the Qur'ān Solomon, son of David, represents the righteous king who sought power for the purpose of serving God. He also strove to eradicate idolatry, and completed the Temple in Jerusalem. In *ṣūra* 38:38, quoted by Khwāja Aḥrār, Solomon asks God for power that he would not abuse, but that others after him might. Indeed, his kingdom disintegrated after his death. As Solomon struggled in his conquest of evil to remove the obstacles of being close to God, so too must Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqāra. Just as Solomon acquired his power from God but must use

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If I open this to discussion
Questions and answers will become lengthy.[15]
The taste of the impression of love [of God] departs from me
And the engraving of service [*naqsh-i khidmat*] [to God]
becomes the engraving [*naqsh*] of another kind.[16]

Knowing one's own limits and observing proper courtesy [*adab*] are among the requirements of the mystical state [*lavāzim-i ḥāl*] of the people of neediness [*arbāb-i faqr*]. More than this would be wearisome. Peace and respect.

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

20

حضرت سلیمان نبی را صلوات الله علی نبینا و علیه علو همت آن اقتضا کرد که موانع قربت برحمت حق سبحانه که عبارت از ادای وظایف عبودیت است قلبا و قالبا سرا و روحا بوصف نیاز و انکسار بردارند یافت این معنی بی تسخیر نفوس شریره جن و انس بکمال میسر نبود حصول این قدرت جز از حق سبحانه نی لاجرم از سر دانش و کمال معرفت بوصف نیاز از حق سبحانه

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it lawfully, just as the Sufi must know his own limits and observe courtesy in attaining the mystical state, so must the *sulṭān* observe the Sharīᶜa in carrying out the duties of obedience to God and in conquering evil and relieving hardship from the Muslim populace. The pretext of the letter is the conflict between the Timurid princes, whose actions Khwāja Aḥrār presents as illegal. What is especially significant is Khwāja Aḥrār's condonation of force. A comparison with letter no. 291(295) offers an interesting contrast concerning the concept of proper and legal behavior as well as the limitations of rulership.

[15] The word *darāz* (lengthy) appears only as *dar* in the manuscript copy; however, rhyme and meter require *āz*. This same *bayt* appears in letter no. 305(309) where the complete word is written. In letter no. 305(309), Khwāja Aḥrār addresses a similar theme.

[16] The term *naqsh* alludes to the Naqshbandīya and to Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389), after whose epithet the *ṭarīqa* is named. The proto-Naqshbandīya was known as the Khwājagān. For a discussion of the Khwājagān, see Chapter 1, and Devin DeWeese, "Khojagānī Origins;" Jürgen Paul, "The Khwājagān/Naqhsbandīya in the first generation after Bahā'uddin: Doctrine and Organization," *Anor* 1 (Berlin, 1998); Hamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order," 164-175.

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طلبیده فرمود که رب هب لی ملکا لا ینبغی لاحد من بعدی هر آن صاحب همتی که طلب این سعادت درنهاد او منظوراست بضرورت همه آن خواهد کرد که سبب یافت این چنین قوتی کردد تسخیر نفوس شریره بعضی بقهر است و بعضی بکرم التماس از آن حضرت آنکه بصفت کرم بعضی را مسخر گردانند تا خلق از محنت خلاص شوند اگر بکرم تسخیر میسر نشود بضرورت مباشرت اسباب آنکه قهرا در تحت درآیند باید کرد بشرطی که در مباشرت آن اسباب فرمان صاحب شریعت علیه من الصلوات اتمها و من التحیات ایمنها ناظر باشند چه مقصود کلی اعزاز صاحب شریعت است و شریعت آنچه فهم می شود از طریقه ملازمان جانبین آنست که رخصت شرعی منظور نیست

گر کشایم بحث این را من بساز با سوال و با جواب آید در[از]

ذوق نکته عشق از من می رود نقش خدمت نقش دیگر می شود

وقوف بر حد خود و نگاه داشت ادب از لوازم حال ارباب فقراست زیاده ازین ابرام است و تصدیع والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

21

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that the letter of favor that has been sent [through] your kindness has arrived. Thanks to the infinite grace of the Almighty for the welfare of all Muslims, his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be

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perpetuated), shall recall his relations.[17] Prior to this event, it was known to the minds of the servitors [here] that Mawarannahr shall belong to them [Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Aḥmad] while that side [Khurāsān] shall belong to the servitors of his Majesty.[18] If this arrangement is not agreeable, [I] beg for forgiveness. If it is agreeable, then let it conform with the grace of his Majesty. I trust that it will not be denied by your grace. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

21

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه عنایت نامه که
بمحض عنایت فرستاده شده بود رسید شکرانه آثار فضل نامتناهی
حق سبحانه آنکه برای خیریت تمام مسلمین آن حضرت خلد
ظلال عاطفته خویشان خود را بخود کشیده چنان کرده شود که
پیش ازین واقعه در خاطر ملازمان آمده بود که ماوراءالنهر از آن
ایشان باشد و آن طرف از آن ملازمان آن حضرت باری این
شکرانه این فقیر می طلبم اگر این صورت ناملایم باشد رقم عفو
کشیده شود اگر ملایم باشد مناسب الطاف آن حضرت باشد
چنان شود که زودتر بهم رسد یقین است که الطاف دریغ
نخواهند داشت والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[17] This letter indicates that Khwāja Aḥrār's earlier request (letter no. 14) from Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā that he call his kinsmen close to him has been granted.

[18] Here Khwāja Aḥrār seeks confirmation that the sovereignty of Mawarannahr will be exercised by Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Aḥmad, whereas Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā will be confined to Khurāsān.

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22(23)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that His Excellency, showing compassion to the relatives of Amīr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, sent him [to Mawarannahr] and these *faqīrs* continually pray for the everlasting fortune [of His Excellency] and are completely absorbed in these prayers. Amīr ᶜAbd al-Vahhāb has had some property (*milkī*), a residential compound (*ḥavālī*), and other [property]. He has sent someone to sell those properties (*amlāk*). The request from your honor is to see that these things may be sold without hindrance. I trust that your noble mind will be directed so as to ensure that the rights (*ḥuqūq*) of Muslims come [duly] to their owners. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

22(23)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه از آنجهت که آن حضرت بنسبت
خویشان مولانا عبدالوهاب ترحم کرده فرستادند همیشه این
فقیران بدعای دولت ابد پیوند بنیاز تمام مشغولند ملکی مولانا
عبدالوهاب مثل خانه و حوالی و غیر آن بوده است کسی روانه
کرده اند که آن املاك را فروشند التماس از خدمت شما آنکه
چنان شود که آن اسباب را منعی نشود فروخته شود یقین که
خاطر شریف ملتفت به آن خواهد بود که حقوق مسلمین
بخداوندان برسد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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23(24)

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that Amīr ᶜAbd al-Vahhāb has ordered a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ-i Bukhārī*.[19] That book has remained in Herat and has not reached him. It has been known now that the book has been with the servitors of his excellency, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated). The request is that with the kindness of your noble intention, that book will reach him. I trust that [your] noble mind will ensure that this thing of his [*chīz-i īshān*] will come to him. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

23(24)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه امیر عبدالوهاب صحیح بخاری
کتابت فرموده بوده اند آن کتاب در هری بوده است به ایشان
نرسیده بوده است درین وقت معلوم شده است که آن کتاب
بملازمان آن حضرت خلد ظلال عواطفه بوده است التماس ایشان
آنست که به التفات خاطر شریف آن کتاب به ایشان برسد یقین
که خاطر شریف برآن خواهد شد که چیز ایشان به ایشان برسد
والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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[19] Apparently the copy that Amīr ᶜAbd al-Vahhāb had ordered was not ready when he left Herat for Mawarannahr. The *Ṣaḥīḥ-i Bukhārī,* written by the Arab traditionist, Ismāᶜīl Bukhārī (d. 870), was regarded as the definitive collection of traditions in fifteenth-century Mawarannahr and Khurāsān, and was likely used in the madrasas of Samarqand. This letter is an indication of its popularity and the fact that books as well as people traveled from Samarqand to Herat. For a discussion of the Ḥāfiẓī family of Bukhara and the library of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā, the successor of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Making of Bukhārā-yi Sharīf: Scholars, Books and Libraries in Medieval Bukhara (The Library of Muḥammad Parsa)," in *Studies in Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. by Devin DeWeese (Bloomington, 2001), 79-111.

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24(25)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the request of this *faqīr* is that whoever has received honor through the unconditional favor of the Almighty [and] has been blessed with the increase of beneficence and wisdom [*niᶜmatī va ḥikmatī*], such beneficence should be spent in no other way than in satisfying the Almighty. We are awaiting the Almighty to honor the rulers with the blessing of expending themselves in whatever is their goal, namely, [in] following the holy [Prophet] Muḥammad, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), through opposing the customs of the strangers [*rusūm-i bīgānegān*] and through overthrowing them.[20] Prayers and glorification be to God that He may make some of those wishes possible. We are hopeful that those customs, in their totality, will not prosper; if there is a need or request other than this, the likes of us *faqīrs* are hopeful that God will keep them far from us. None of us has any other request except this. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

24(25)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه ملتمس این فقیر از هر که بموجب
عنایت بی علت از حق سبحانه بمزید نعمتی و حکمتی مشرف
شده جز آن نیست که این چنین نعمت در مراضی حق سبحانه
مصروف شود انتظاری میکشیم که حق سبحانه پادشاهانرا
بتوفیق صرف کردن خود را در آنچه مقصود است از ایشان
مشرف گرداند یعنی اتباع حضرت محمد رسول الله صلی الله

[20] Khwāja Aḥrār uses the term *rusūm-i bīgānegān* in a number of letters in which he urges Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to uphold the Sharīᶜa and eradicate the "customs of the foreigners." The term likely applies to the *yāsā* (Chingizid customary law). In other letters, the term *bīgānegān* appears to refer to non-Islamized or nominally Muslim Turkic peoples and not solely to the customs themselves. See letter nos. 49(50), 304(308), 305(309), 494(500), et. al. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Sharīᶜa in the letters of Khwāja Aḥrār.

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علیه و علی آله بمخالفت رسوم بیگانگان و برانداختن آن حمد الله سبحانه که بعضی ازآن آرزوهارا حق سبحانه میسر گردانید امیدوار هستیم که به اعدام تمام آن رسوم موفق شوند غیر این بایست و خواستی اگر باشد امثال ما فقیرانرا امیدوار می باشیم که حق سبحانه از ما دور گرداند تا همگی بر خود جز این آرزو و بایست را طالب نباشیم والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

25(26)[21]

… He has determined the [departure] of the households [*kūchhā*] of some so they may go ….[22] He told the household of his honor, Amīr Shaykhzāda Muḥammad that, "We hope that friendship and closeness will be established between us kin[smen]. After the condition [of peace] has been established, we will send … "

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

25(26)

… کوچهای بعضی را یقین کرده اند که روند اگر روند … کوچ خدمت امیر شیخ زاده محمد را چنین گفتند که میخواهیم میان ما خویشان دوستی و قرابت شود بعد آنکه این صورت قرارگیرد فرستیم …

[21] This is a fragment with no beginning or end. Khwāja Aḥrār's handwriting is quite small. The letter was probably written to Sulṭān-Aḥmad or Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā.

[22] Text unclear. The term *kūch,* from the Turkish *köč*, meaning immigration (and the transported baggage involved), often refers to the goods, property, and children as well as the migrants themselves. It is not clear whether this group was moving from Khurāsān to Mawarannahr or vice versa.

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26(27)

After the presentation of supplication, the request is that if the bearer of the letter is in need of [something] from his Majesty, with your honor's favor may his request be granted.[23] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

26(27)

بعد از عرض نیاز التماس آنکه اگر دارنده رقعه نیازرا حاجتی از آن حضرت باشد بعنایت خدمت شما حاجت او برآورده شود

والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

27(28)

After the statement of supplication, the petition [*ᶜarża- dāsht*] of this *faqīr* is that your honor used to occasionally inquire about me. It has been a while since this has ceased, but certainly this would not be [because of] disfavor, for what has issued from me that would be the cause of it? However much this *faqīr* has wanted to make peace between the kinsmen [*khvīshān*] so the Muslims may not suffer, every once in a while something happens to dispel that hope. It is hoped that your honor also will be devoting all of your resolve to the accomplishment of this. It is hoped that through [His] infinite kindness, the Almighty may arrange for all the kinsmen to be reconciled with one another and to be satisfied with what the Almighty has given, so that the servants of the Almighty will not suffer harm. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[23] The honorific, *Khidmat-i shomā,* is often used to address ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī or Jāmī.

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27(28)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه حضرت شما گاهی پرسش این فقیر می کردید دیرگاهیست که آن طریقه مسدود است یقین که از بی عنایتی نخواهد بود تا ازین جانب چه واقع شده باشد سبب آن خواهد بود هر چند این فقیر خواستم که میان خویشان دوستی شود مسلمانان زحمت نکشند در هر وقت چیزی چند واقع می شود که آرزورا جای نمی ماند یقین آنست که خدمت شما را نیز همگی همت مصروف براین کار خواهد بود امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه سببی سازد که همه خویشان با همدیگر خوش شده به آنچه حق سبحانه داده است قناعت کرده چنان کنند که بندگان خداوند سبحانه متضرر نشوند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

40(41)[24]

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* to the servitors [of his Majesty] is that although disturbing news is abundant everywhere, it is hoped that through the infinite kindness of the Almighty, out of pure mercy, He shall keep all the Muslims from the hardship of [this] world and the hereafter so that no one anywhere shall suffer. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[24] Letter nos. 28(29)-39(40) are those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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40(41)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر پیش ملازمان آنکه اگر چه اخبار پریشان بسیار است در همه جا امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه بمحض مرحمت همه مسلمین را از محنت دنیا و آخرت نگاه دارد هیچ کس در هیچ جای زحمت نکشد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

41(42)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* to the servitors of his eminence is that the honorable Shaykhzāda, shall bring his important affairs to the attention of the servitors. I trust that with the kindness of [your] noble mind his request will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

41(42)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر پیش ملازمان آن جناب آنکه خدمت شیخ زاده مهم خودرا پیش ملازمان رفع خواهند کرد یقین آنست که به التفات خاطر شریف ملتمس ایشان خواهد برآمد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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48(49)[25]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearers of this letter are from this region [Mawarannahr] and are away from their own locale due to disturbances of the time. They cannot be anywhere else. Their request is that they may find some compassion from the servitors so they can settle in their own place. They have also made this *faqīr* the instrument of their wish. I trust that with the kindness and compassion of the servitors [of the royal court] they shall attain their desire. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

48(49)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارندگان رقعه نیاز ازین ولایت اند
بسبب عوارض زمان از موضع خود دور افتاده اند در جای دیگر
نمی توانند باشند التماس ایشان آنست که مرحمتی از ملازمان
چنان یابند که توانند در جای خود قرار گیرند این فقیر را نیز
وسیله مراد خود گردانیده اند یقین آن است که بعنایت و مرحمت
ملازمان بمقصود خود خواهند رسید والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

49(50)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that since the Almighty has directed Amīr Shaykhim to do the honor of kissing the threshold of his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all Muslims), because of the grace of the noble intention of his Majesty it came into the mind of this *faqīr* that in the same way the Almighty caused his Majesty, the late august martyred Sulṭān [Abū

[25] Letter nos. 42(43)-47(48) are those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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Sa^{c}īd],[26] (May God illuminate his tomb), to remove the evil of the customs of strangers [*sharr-i rusūm-i bīgānegān*] from the region of Mawarannahr, we request your Majesty to direct [your] noble resolve to removing the evil of the customs of foreigners from that region [Khurāsān], so that the benefit of kingship and power [*salṭanat va qudrat*] with which the Almighty has favored you may be made manifest.[27] The gratitude for this kind blessing shall be presented [to God].

A request for the increase of [your] kindness to the bearer of the letter [Amīr Shaykhim] was made because of the perfection of your favor. I trust that whatever is good for his two worlds will be bestowed upon him [by you]. Peace!

The needy one, ^{c}Ubayd Allāh

49(50)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه چونکه حق سبحانه امیر شیخم را بشرف عتبه بوسی آن حضرت خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین متوجه گردانید بسبب التفات خاطرشریف آن حضرت در خاطر این فقیر آمد که همچنانکه حق سبحانه سبب گردانیده حضرت سلطان شهید سعید مرحوم را نورالله مرقده شر بعض رسوم بیگانگانرا از ولایت ماوراءالنهر برداشت التماس از حضرت شما می کنیم که همت شریف مصروف برآن باشد که شر رسوم بیگانگان از آن ولایت برداشته شود تا فائده سلطنت و قدرت که حق سبحانه عنایت کرده است بنقد ظاهر شود شکر

[26] Khwāja Aḥrār uses the posthumous title of *Ḥażrat-i Sulṭān-shahīd Sa^{c}īd.*

[27] Khwāja Aḥrār's letter, which was addressed to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, urges him to rid Khurāsān from the *rusūm-i bīgānegān*, probably meaning Turko-Mongolian customary law (*yāsā*), as it did in letter no. 24(25). He uses Abū Sa^{c}īd (r. 1451-1469), Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's predecessor, who was killed in a campaign against the Aqquyunlu leader Uzūn Ḥasan, as a model. For references to the campaign, see HS, vol. 4, 87-90; HS Thackston, tome three, part three, 398-402; John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Chicago, 1976), 111-112.

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این چنین نعمت بتقدیم رسانیده شود التماس زیادتی عنایت
بنسبت دارنده رقعه نیاز بسبب کمال عنایت شما کرده شد یقین
که آنچه صلاح دارین اوست بنسبت او ارزانی خواهند داشت
والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

50(51)

After the presentation of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that I have made many requests and petitions [*iltimās va ᶜarża- dāsht*] to the servitors of that exalted threshold for the contentment and tranquility of all Muslims. Inasmuch as despondency would cause vexation to the servitors, I abandon it all and can only say this: Lord, by the glory of his holiness the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), honor his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[28] with the blessing of what is good for all Muslims, so that tranquility may be achieved among Muslims, and so that tranquility may become the cause for the increase of happiness of the two worlds of his Majesty. The honorable bearer of this letter has been aware of most of the requests of this *faqīr*. That too caused the servitors to abandon vexation. Perhaps if some [requests] are granted, he [the bearer] shall bring it to the attention of the servitors. I trust that his Majesty shall know the expectations and requests of this *faqīr* and engage his noble mind in this request. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

50(51)

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه این فقیر را از جهت
رفاهیت و آسایش تمام مسلمین التماس و عرضه داشت به
ملازمان آن آستان عالی بسیار بود چونکه اکسار سبب تصدیع

[28] The *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

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ملازمان می شد همه را ترك كرده جز این نمی توانم گفت كه
خداوندا بعزت حضرت محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی
آله و سلم آن حضرت را خلد ظلال عاطفته بتوفیق آنچه خیر تمام
مسلمین است مشرف گردان تا مسلمین را جمعیتی میسر شود كه
آن جمعیت سبب زیادتی سعادت دارین آن حضرت گردد بر اكثر
آنچه ملتمس این فقیر بود خدمت دارنده رقعه آگاه بودند آن نیز
سبب ترك تصدیع ملازمان شد شاید كه بعضی را اگر ماذون
باشند بعرض ملازمان رسانند یقین این فقیر آنست كه آن
حضرت متوقع و ملتمس این فقیر را خواهند دانست خاطر
شریف ملتفت بملتمس این گرفتار خواهند گردانید والسلام
الفقیر عبیدالله

51(52)

May God reward you!

It is hoped from the infinite kindness of the Almighty that through His unlimited favor, He may honor you with the blessing of the good of the two worlds and render sovereignty and kingship [*salṭanat va pādishāhī*] the cause of finding true happiness. He should expend all resolve so that from the height of grandeur [no neglect may come upon][29] the necessities of religion. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh.

[29] Two words from the last sentence are unclear.

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جزاکم الله عنا جزأ

امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه بمحض عنایت بی علت
بتوفیق خیر دارین مشرف گردانیده سلطنت و پادشاهی را سبب
یافت سعادت حقیقیه گرداند همگی همت را برآن مصروف
گرداند که از اوج عزیمت ... [30] ضرورت دینیه نشود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

52(53,58)[31]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the request of all of the servitors of his Royal Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated), is that they may endeavor to make peace between his Majesty and [his] kinsmen [*khvīshān*] in such a way that from whatever territories [*mamālik*] have been bestowed upon him [by God], he should give a portion to his kinsmen. That method [of reconciliation] has not been approved by the servitors of that court [*dargāh*]; rather, some have suspected that such conduct is illegal [*nā mashrūʿ*].[32] The opinion of this *faqīr* has been that doing such a thing in order to strike peace between Muslims is not unsound [*istiqāmat*]. I have also understood that submitting such a request before the servitors of his Majesty is bad. I cannot transgress any

[30] Two words are unclear.

[31] The letter is divided into two separately numbered sections, 53 and 58.

[32] Khwāja Aḥrār requests that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā settle the conflict among the princes by giving them a portion of land *(mamālik).* The category of this land is not clear. However, if it is suspected to be unlawful, then the land may have been *khāliṣa* or *mamālik-i padishāh*, or even *vaqf,* although the latter is unlikely. The jurists of the court apparently did not approve of this method of reconciliation, possibly because it was a transaction performed under compulsion rather than a voluntary sale or gift. Khwāja Aḥrār's request is an indication of the degree of political influence he attempted to exert at the Timurid court. In making his judgement that such action is permissible, Khwāja Aḥrār politely presents the persistence of his requests as transgressions while simultaneously indicating the urgency of a resolution and the continuing anxiety that it causes for him. See letter nos. 291(295) and 293(297), which also concern peace-making and the legal issues it raises.

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further, although I am still hopeful that with the effort of the servitors this method [of reconciliation] will come to pass, so the anxiety of these relatives will also be decreased. This *faqīr* also shall be relieved from blaming them daily, insofar as I have made an effort, to the extent of [my] ability, would that they too would be kind and reduce [my] anxiety. This winter they have postponed [it]. I am hopeful that your honor will turn [your} noble mind to this issue: what good will come from two Muslim factions [*qabīla*] who are related to one another being at war? The bearer of this letter, if he finds the opportunity, shall announce to your honor whatever is known. There has been much kindness and favor [shown] to him, and I trust that he will be considered a well-wisher [by you]. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

52(53,58)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه التماس از همه ملازمان حضرت سلطنت شعاری خلد ظلال عواطفه آن بود که اهتمام کنند که در میان آن حضرت و خویشان دوستی شود برآن وجه که از آنچه حق سبحانه بنسبت ایشان از ممالك ارزانی داشته است مقداری بخویشان بدهند آن صورت مستحسن ملازمان آن درگاه نبوده است بلکه بعضی را گمان آن بوده است که آن صورت نامشروع است گمان این فقیر آن بود که برای مصالح مسلمین آنچنان کردن از استقامت بیرون نیست این فقیر نیز دانستم که آن چنان التماس کردن پیش ملازمان آن حضرت بد بوده است دیگر گستاخی نمی توانم کرد اگر چه حالا نیز امیدوارهستم که به اهتمام ملازمان این صورت دست دهد تا دغدغه این خویشان نیز کم شود این فقیر نیز ا[ز] ملامت کردن هر روزه ایشانرا خلاص

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شوم تا غایت بقدر وسع اهتمام کردم باری ایشان نیز کرم کرده
دغدغه را کم کرده این زمستان تاءخیر کردند امیدوار می باشم
که خدمت شما باری درین معنی خاطر شریف ملتفت گردانند از
آنکه دو قبیله مسلمانان که خویش باشند جنگ کنند چه خیر
خواهد بود دارنده رقعه نیاز اگر مجال یابد آنچه معلوم باشد
اعلام خواهد کرد خدمت شما را بنسبت او الطاف و عنایت
بسیار بوده است یقین که اورا نیك خواه خواهند دانست والسلام
الفقر عبیدالله

53(54,56)[33]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that this *faqīr's* sister's children [have left] their mother and their children at such time as they are sick, and have gone to that side [Khurāsān]. The request is that, purely for the sake of the Almighty, [your] noble mind be directed merely as a favor toward this *faqīr,* to ensure that they return quickly so that this *faqīr* might be freed from the pain of seeing their mother's suffering. I trust that [your] favor with regard to [these sufferers] will not be denied. Peace and respect!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

53(54,56)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خواهرزاده گان این فقیر مادران و
فرزندان خودرا در چنین وقت که ایشانرا ضعفی هست به آن
جانب رفته اند التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه خاطر شریف
بمحض عنایت به نسبت این فقیر چنان ملتفت گردانند که ایشان

[33] Letter no. 54 continues onto no. 56.

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زود مراجعت کنند تا این فقیر از الم آنکه مادران ایشانر متاءلم
بینم خلاص شوم یقین که عنایت بنسبت این الم رسیده گان
دریغ نخواهند داشت والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

54(55)

A merchant [*bāzārgānī*] named Ḥājjī ᶜAlī Rūmī has requested from this *faqīr* that I make a request to the servitors to give him permission to go to his own region.[34] It is requested that he be given permission. I trust that the request will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

54(55)

حاجی علی رومی نام بازرگانی التماس کرده است ازین فقیر که
اورا از ملازمان درخواست کنم که اجازت دهند که بولایت خود
رود التماس آنکه اورا اجازت داده شود یقین که ملتمس مبذول
خواهد بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[34] Based on his *nisba*, the merchant is from Asia Minor. Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī mentions a Khwāja Muṣṭafā Rūmī, who "was a merchant who was an employee (*kārgarān*) of the Īshān." See *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 537. R. N. Nabiev made note of this letter in his article, "Iz istorii politiko-ekonomicheskoi zhizni maverannakhra XV v," in *Velikii Uzbekskii poet* (Tashkent, 1948), 38.

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55(57)[35]

The children of Mawlānā Muḥammad's brother, who are ... [36] of this *faqīr* have remained there [in Khurāsān]. It is requested that favor be given so they may reach here [Mawarannahr].

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

55(57)

برادرزاده گان مولانا محمد که ... [37] این فقیر اند آنجا مانده اند
التماس آنکه عنایت فرموده چنان شود که ایشان اینجا [38] رسد

56(59)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is this: it is true that this *faqīr* has suffered greatly to keep the people from here [Mawarannahr] from heading to that side [Khurāsān]. They have often thought of it; the [aim] was not realized. Because these people are numerous, their country does not suffice for their maintenance [*maʿūnat*].[39] For this reason they are suffering greatly, to the point that misfortune affects [them] in every way [imaginable]. At this point, because they have lost patience, it is feared that there will be strife among them. We have become powerless [to suppress it]. Because of this necessity, we are begging that some attention also be given to the condition of this *faqīr* and some thought be given to this matter, for it is incumbent upon everyone, to the extent of his ability,

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[35] Letter no. 54 continues onto no. 56. This is a letter of Khwāja Aḥrār (based on the handwriting) that concerns a common theme of reunification of families in Mawarannahr and Khurāsān. The request is written on behalf of the children of the brother of Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, Khwāja Aḥrār's disciple, close companion, and spiritual successor. On Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, see TR, Persian text, 103a-105b; English trans., 141-144.

[36] One word is unclear.

[37] One word is unclear.

[38] The word may be read as آنجا, but اینجا fits the contextual meaning of the fragment.

[39] *Maʿūnat* also means provisions. It is unclear whether the flight of people from Mawarannahr to Khurāsān is due to hardship caused by internecine conflict, the burden of taxes, famine, or a combination of these factors.

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to look after [the affairs of] all Muslims, wherever they are from and wherever they may be. This *faqīr* is begging that [your] noble mind be given to that [matter] so the Muslims may not suffer. I trust that the request will gain the honor of acceptance. The honorable bearer of this letter is aware of my goal. He shall present it [to you].

The son of this *faqīr* is young. I fear that, because of the abundance of favor and kindness in [your] noble mind toward him, a desire [may arise in him] that will be the cause of trouble for him and for me. The request is that, purely for God's sake, [your] noble mind may be directed so that he will be sent to this side in any way possible so that people do not behave toward him in such a way that will make it difficult for us and for him.[40] Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

56(59)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه راست آنست که این فقیر بسیار زحمت کشیده ام که مردم اینجایی را توجهی به آنجانب نشود بسیار بخاطر آوردند میسر نشد چونکه این مردم کثرتی دارند ولایت ایشان کفایت مؤنت ایشان نمی کند ازین جهت بسیار در زحمت می شوند تا غایت بهر وجهی که بود محنتی کشیده شد من بعد چونکه بی طاقت شده اند گمان میشود که ایشان نیز در میان همدیگر پریشانی کنند بسی عاجز شده ایم بسبب این ضرورت التماس می کنیم که ملاحظه احوال این فقیر نیز کرده شود فکری درین باب کرده شود چونکه رعایت تمام مسلمین از هرجا که باشند و هر کجا که باشند بقدر وسع بر همه

[40] Khwāja Aḥrār's younger son, Muḥammad Yaḥyā, was apparently living in Herat for a time. *Havā* (desire or lust) refers to the tendency in man which distracts him from divine guidance.

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واجب التماس میکنیم که خاطر شریف برآن باشد که مسلمین
در زحمت نشوند یقین که ملتمس بشرف قبول مشرف خواهد
شد خدمت حامل رقعه را مقصود این فقیر معلوم است عرضه
داشت خواهند کرد فرزند این فقیر خرد است می ترسم که بسبب
زیادتی عنایت و التفات خاطر درو هوایی که سبب تشویش او و
این فقیر شود ناگاه شود التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه
خاطر شریف بران شود که او بهر وجهی که باشد متوجه براین
جانب شود مردم بریشان چنان نکنند که کار بر ما و بر او دشوار
شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

57(60)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that some time before the siege,[41] the honorable bearer of [this] letter honored me with the honor of his company.[42] During the days of the siege he [the bearer of the letter] made the darkness of the distress of the siege remote from the *faqīrs* by the abundant light[s] of true life, that is, hearing the words of God [*kalām Allāh*].[43] To the inhabitants [*sākinān*] here, being in his company was the ultimate tranquility. After calming down the distress of the siege, [he] set out to kiss the threshold of your eminence. He [the bearer of the letter] endeavored to take along the honorable offspring [*makhdūmzāda*].[44] Because of accidents

[41] It is not clear to which siege Khwāja Aḥrār is referring, although it may refer to Sulṭān-Maḥmūd's attempt to take Samarqand.

[42] The unnamed bearer of the letter is apparently a learned man from Herat who was present during the siege.

[43] Khwāja Ahrār is referring to hearing the recitation of the Qur'ān.

[44] The *makhdūmzāda* apparently is Khwāja Aḥrār's son. See letter no. 56(59), in which Khwāja Aḥrār expresses concern for his son's exposure to impure desires.

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[*ᶜavāriż*],[45] there was a delay. Perhaps later he too may find your honorable company. Although the *faqīrs* here [in Samarqand] have become fond of him and have asked him to settle in this *vilāyat*, he could not do so. If he is inclined to favor these *faqīrs* [here with a visit], and to set out for this side, the request is that permission be given by his Majesty. The esteem of the Qur'ān-reciters will be manifest before all in such a manner that no further explanation will be needed, especially the honorable bearer of [this] supplicatory letter, who is a master in this science, [and] in addition [possesses] a variety of virtues that the tonque of explanation is powerless to describe. I trust that all of the resolve of your honor shall be [directed] so his goals will be brought to the utmost level through the favor of your honor. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

57(60)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه پیش از محاصره بچندگاهی خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز این فقیر را بشرف صحبت خود مشرف گردانیده بودند در ایام محاصره ظلمت تفرقه محاصره را به انوار افاضه حیوة حقیقی یعنی استماع کلام الله از فقراء اینجایی دور گردانیدند ساکنان اینجارا آرامی تمام بملازمت ایشان بود بعد از تسکین تفرقه محاصره عزیمت عتبه بوسی آنجناب شده متوجه شدند اهتمام در آن کردند که خدمت مخدوم زاده را با خود همراه برند بسبب عوارض تاءخیر یافت شاید که من بعد ایشان نیز بشرف ملازمت مشرف شوند چونکه فقراء اینجایی را انس به ایشان شده است و از ایشان استدعاء سکونت این ولایت میکردند ایشان نتوانستند که باشند اگر ایشانرا میل آن شود که

[45] *ᶜAvāriż* may refer to accidents or illness.

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التفات به این فقراء کرده عزیمت به اینجانب کنند التماس آنکه رخصت آمدن از آن حضرت حاصل کرده شود عزت حفظه کلام مجید پیش همه بر وجهی ظاهر خواهد بود که حاجت به بیان دیگری نخواهد بود بتخصیص خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز که درین فن آیتی اند باضمایم انواع فضایل که زبان بیان عاجز است از تقریر آن یقین که همگی همت خدمت شما برآن خواهد بود که مقاصد ایشان به اقصی وجوه بعنایت خدمت شما برآورده شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

58(61,63)

After the statement of supplication it is reported that after [Aḥmad] Mushtāq sent someone here [to Samarqand], many reports came [with him]. The sum of all the reports is that these people should unite together and support one another because the appeals for aid have become numerous.[46] Although prior to the affair of Amīr Aḥmad Mushtāq, there were appeal[s] for help, these people nevertheless adhered to the path of caution, even though externally they did not undertake to afflict those who were seeking help.[47] The reality is that they were not firm in giving help. After the arrival of many rumors, most or all of which were lies, they could not calm themselves. This

[46] This letter concerns Khwāja Aḥrār's role in peace negotiations connected with the siege of Balkh. Khwāja Aḥrār apparently tried to prevent Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, ruler of Ḥisār, and Sulṭān-Aḥmad, ruler of Samarqand, from supporting the rebellion of Amīr Aḥmad Mushtāq, the *ḥākim* of Balkh who was appointed by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. The event occurred in 1471-72 during which Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā laid siege to Balkh for four months. Aḥmad Mushtāq could not achieve a victory even with the help of the *sulṭāns*. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the conflict; see also HS, vol. 4, 166-166; HS Thackston, tome 3, 433-436.

[47] Khwāja Aḥrār is suggesting that Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Aḥmad never were genuine supporters of Aḥmad Mushtāq.

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faqīr calmed them in a manner that may be ascertained from the servitors of his Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all the Muslims). [Even] if what is being heard here [in Samarqand], which I do not confirm and you [all] reject, is true, do not accept [such talk]. If what is heard is all false, one should hear it [but] not transgress the limits of servitude to the Almighty, and do not forget the Qur'ānic *āyat*, "No, by your Lord, they have not truly believed until they make you the judge over that which they are disputing about among themselves."[48] Think of the next world. They too have agreed, but we could not prevent them from coming out [to help Aḥmad Mushtāq].

Since his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī[49] was setting out to obtain the honor of kissing the threshold, at this time [his] service [to you] is manifested in the presentation of this matter. I trust that, for the sake of the welfare of the Muslims, that which encompasses the good of both worlds, for all humanity, will also come to the noble mind of his Majesty. The honorable bearer of this letter of sincerity will bring whatever he knows to the attention of the servitors of the royal threshold. It is hoped that from the infinite kindness of the Almighty he will give whatever encompasses the good of the two worlds. To His grace and respect. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh.

58(61,63)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه بعد آنکه از طرف مشتاق اینجا کسی
فرستاد اخبار بسیار آمد محصل مجموع اخبار این شد که این
مردم با همدیگر ممد متفق شوند چه طلب مدد بسیار شد اگر چه
پیش از واقعه امیر احمد مشتاق طلب مدد بود لیکن این مردم
طریقه حزم مرعی می داشتند اگر چه در مقام رنجانیدن طالبان

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[48] Qur'ān, 4:65.

[49] The title of *murtażā-yi aᶜẓam* is a standard epithet indicating the status of *sayyid*.

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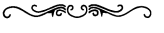
مدد بحسب صورت نمی شدند واقع اینست که در مدد ثابت نبودند بعد آنکه بسیار اخباری که اکثر یا بالتمامی دروغ بوده باشد رسید خود را نتوانستند تسکین داد تسکین دادن این فقیر بر وجهی شد که از ملازمان آنحضرت خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین تحقیق کرده شود اگر آنچه اینجا شنوده می شود که این فقیر تصدیق نمی کنم و شمایان متردد هستید واقع باشد سخن قبول مکنید اگر مسموعات همه دروغ باشد سخن باید شنود از حد بندگی خداوند سبحانه تجاوز نکرده آیه کریمه فلا و ربك لا یؤمنون حتی یحکموك فیما شجر بینهم غافل نباید بود از آخرت اندیشید ایشان نیز قبول کرده اند لیکن از بیرون آمدن مانع نتوانستیم آمد خدمت مرتضی اعظم چونکه متوجه دریافت شرف عتبه بوسی بودند خدمت درین وقت این نمود که عرض این صورت برده شود یقین آنست که از برای آسایش مسلمین بر خاطر شریف آنحضرت هم آن خواهد آمد که متضمن خیر دارین کافه بنی آدم باشد خدمت درانده صحیفه الاخلاص آنچه معلوم دارند بعرض ملازمان آستان عالی خواهند رسانند امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه به آنچه متضمن خیر دارین است موفق گرداند بمنه و کرمه والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



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59(62)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the request of this *faqīr* to his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated), is none other than that the strength and the support that the Almighty has bestowed upon his Majesty out of pure grace, may be spent so that the felicity of the two worlds, through seeking the satisfaction of God, may be quickly achieved. And this [good] is achieved only by the implementation of the Sharīᶜa of the Prophet [Muḥammad], (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family).

The request is that [his Majesty] resolve that the strangers of religion [*bīgānegān-i dīn*] who have come near may be attacked and dispersed through the unity and concerted action of [his] kinsmen. With such a beneficial undertaking at hand, how can any other undertaking be permissible? It is hoped from Divine Kindness that [God] may award [the *sulṭāns*] His favor for whatever is most important so that the fruits of that [matter] remain everlasting. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

59(62)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه ملتمس این فقیر از آن حضرت خلد
ظلال عاطفته جزآن نیست که قوتی و نصرتی که حق سبحانه
بمحض عنایت بنسبت آنحضرت عنایت فرموده است آن
مصروف برآن شود که سعادت دراین برضا جویی حق سبحانه
زود حاصل شود و این معنی جز بترویج شریعت محمد رسول
الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم میسر نیست التماس آنکه
چنان شود که همت بر آن شود که بیگانگان دین که در نزدیك
آمده اند به اتحاد و موافقت خویشان منکوب شده سرگشته شوند
باوجود این چنین کاری پرسود کار دیگر کردن چون روا باشد

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امید از الطاف الهی آنکه بمحض عنایت بتوفیق آنچه اهم است
مشرف گرداند تا ثمرات آن علی الدوام باقی ماند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

266(271)[50]

Holy Khwāja Ḥajjī ᶜAbd Allāh, accepting [our] greetings, [you] should know that the duty of your honor was that once every year you used to come to visit [on this side, Mawarannahr]. Some years have passed and you have not desired to visit me. You should not be so unkind to me. Instead of this behavior, you should remember [your] previous behavior and visit me. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh[51]

266(271)

خدمت خواجه حاجی عبدالله تحیت قبول فرموده چنان دانند که
وظیفه خدمت شما آن بود که هر سال یکباری تشریف می آوردند
چند سال گذشت هیچ میل به این جانب نکردند بایستی که این
چنین بی التفات به این جانب نبودند ی باید که بر خلاف این
طریقه پیشین را بخاطر آورده به این جانب التفات فرمایند
والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[50] Letter nos. 60(64)-265(270) are those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[51] In addition to the signature located at the bottom of the letter, there is another signature written sideways on the right margin, *al-faqīr ᶜUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad.*

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267(272)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* to the servitors is that some of [my] household and persons [*mutaᶜalliqān va kasān*] wanted to purchase private property [*milk*] on that side [Khurāsān].[52] The honorable bearer of the petition will be there and shall be the usufructuary [*mutaṣarrif*] of that property. I trust that if for some matter he shall appeal to the servitors, the noble mind of the servitors shall be directed to his matter. Peace!

[No Signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh

267(272)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر پیش ملازمان آنکه بعضی
از متعلقان و کسان این فقیر بخاط آورده اند که در انجانب ملکی
خریده شوده خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز آنجا خواهند بود متصرف
آن ملك ایشان خواهند بود یقین آنست که اگر بمهمی رجوع
بملازمان کنند ملازمان خاطر شریف ملتفت بمهم ایشان خواهند
ساخت و اسلام

268(273)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that the honorable bearer of this letter has set out to kiss the threshold with the hope that whatever has befallen him may be alleviated. It is hoped that the endeavor to alleviate what has befallen him shall be granted as a favor. His perfection and accomplishment, because they are apparent to your honor, require no description by me. Therefore, nothing has been said. Peace!

[No Signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

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[52] *Mutaᶜalliqān va kasān* likely refers to both disciples and family members who were living in the *khānqāh* at Khwāja Kafshīr.

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268(273)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز به امید آنکه آنچه ایشانرا عارض شده است مرفوع شود متوجه بعتبه بوسی شده اند یقین که اهتمام در ازاله عارضه ایشان بمحض عنایت ارزانی خواهند داشت کمال و فضل ایشان چونکه پیش خدمت شما ظاهر است احتیاج به آنکه این فقیر در مقام تعریف شوم نبود بنا بران هیچ گفته نشد والسلام

269(274)

After the statement of supplication it is reported that two foster brothers [*kūkeltāsh*] of the *makhdūmzāda* [Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd] have remained there [in Herat]. They have a mother here [in Samarqand]. It is obvious how deep her grief can be. The request is that, purely for God's sake, your noble mind be may be directed so that his excellency has mercy on their mother and sends them [here]. I trust that the alleviation of their mother's grief shall be the cause for lasting good for his Majesty. Peace![53]

[No Signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

269(274)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دو کوکلتاش خدمت مخدوم زاده آنجا مانده اند اینجا مادری دارند که قوی متاءلم است الم او معلوم

[53] Based on the content of the letter, it is likely to have been addressed either to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī or ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. In one of Jāmī's letters he requests that the foster brothers of the *makhdūmzāda* Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, whom he names as Amīr Darvīsh Muḥammad and Amīr Darvīsh Aḥmad, be freed from confinement due to illness and unhealthy conditions and moved to a place with fresh air. As noted above, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd, was the ruler of Ḥiṣār. His foster brothers were taken prisoner in Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's campaign during the conflict near Balkh (1473-1474) that involved the army of Sultan-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and the forces of Sulṭān-Aḥmad (ruler in Samarqand) and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. For Jāmī's letter, see *Pis'ma-avtografy*, letter no. 255(260), pp. 100, 139, fol. 28.

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خواهد بود که در چه مرتبه باشد التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه
سبحانه خاطر شریف برآن باشد که آنحضرت ترحم بر مادر
ایشان کرده ایشانر روانه سازند یقین که تسکین الم مادر ایشان
سبب یافت خیر مدام آنحضرت خواهد بود والسلام

270(275)

After the statement of supplication it is to be reported that insofar as the bearer of this letter has been honored by God with coming before you, he too, knowing the extent of your kindness, is very grateful. This *faqīr* too is greatly indebted to him because of his polite demeanor and great service to his honor, Amīr Sayyid ᶜAbd al-Avval, and he has affirmed it.[54] The request is that he [ᶜAbd al-Avval] may be distinguished from the other members of the servitors [of the state] by an increase of favor. I trust that his request will gain the honor of acceptance as a noble favor. Peace!

[No Signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

270(275)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز چونکه بشرف
ملازمت حق سبحانه اورا مشرف گردانیده است او نیز قدر
التفات شریف دانسته قوی شاکر است حق بسیار نیز بنسبت این
فقیر بسبب آنکه بنسبت خدمت امیر سید عبدالاول ادب بسیار و
خدمت بسیار کرده است اثبات کرده التماس آنکه بمزید عنایت از
سایر ملازمان ممتاز باشد یقین که ملتمس بمحض عنایت بشرف
اجابت مشرف خواهد شد والسلام

[54] ᶜAbd al-Avval was Khwāja Aḥrār's close disciple and his son-in-law. Other letters in the album provide strong evidence that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, and Jāmī granted many favors to ᶜAbd al-Avval and to his family who resided in Khurāsān. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of ᶜAbd al-Avval.

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271(276)

After the statement of supplication it is reported that the bearer of this letter has set out to that side [Khurāsān] to call upon his kinsmen [*khvīshān*]. His nobility and his conduct shall be clear to the radiant minds of the servitors. If he has any business [*muhimmāt*] it is requested that if he appeals to the servitors [of his Majesty, the Sulṭān] [your] noble mind be given to his affairs. I trust that the request will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

271(276)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز متوجه به آن جانب برای دریافت خویشان شده اند بر ضمیر منیر ملازمان اصالت وطریقه ایشان روشن خواهد بود شاید که ایشانرا مهمات باشد التماس آنکه اگر رجوع بملازمان کنند خواطر شریف ملتفت بمهم ایشان گردد یقین آنست که ملتمس مبذول خواهد بود

والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

272(277)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of the letter has a letter [of his own] that shall pass before the noble glance of your honor. If the truth is as it is in that letter, it is hoped that [your] noble mind will be given to it so that whatever the *dārūgha* [superintendent] of Chahār-Jūy has taken from the bearer, it will be returned unconditionally [*bī vajh*] to him. Peace![55]

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

---

[55] Chahār-Jūy (present-day Charjev in Turkmenistan) is the main ford on the Amū Daryā when traveling from Bukhara towards Marv. It is not clear what the *dārūgha* has taken from the bearer of the letter, although it is possible that he is contesting the payment of customs or a crossing toll.

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272(277)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز خطی دارد که بنظر شریف خدمت شما خواهد رسید اگر واقع آن چنان باشد که درآن خط است یقین آنست که خاطر شریف ملتفت به آن خواهد شد آنچه از دارنده خط داروغه چهارجوی گرفته است بی وجه به او برسد والسلام

273(278)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of the letter shall present his petition [*ʿarża-dāsht*] to the servitors. Because of the request from this *faqīr* for a recommendation [*sipārish*], I overstep the bounds by bringing his request to the attention of the servitors. I trust that if his request may be honored, your noble mind shall be given to it. If it is not proper, that too will be the decision of the servitors. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

273(278)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز ملتمس خود پیش ملازمان عرضه داشت خواهد کرد بعد آنکه ازین فقیر التماس سپارش میکنند گستاخی کرده ملتمس ایشان بعرض ملازمان می رسانم یقین آنست که اگر ملتمس ایشان برآوردنی باشد خاطر شریف ملتفت خواهد شد اگر مصلحت نباشد آن نیز پیش ملازمان است والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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275(280)[56]

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* to the servitors of her Excellency [*Ḥażrat-i Khānum*] is this: because it has been heard that despite her youth she has expended all her resolve to knowing the Sharīᶜa of [the Prophet] Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May the blessing of God be upon Him and his family), [my] heart is bound to her Excellency.[57] It is hoped from the infinite kindness of the Almighty that all Her endeavor may be used for the propagation of the Sharīᶜa to the farthest corners [of the land], and that the darkness of the masters of conceit [*ẓulmat-i arbāb-i havā*] may be reduced by the lights of the Sharīᶜa. Since the bearer of the letter was about to set off, it was stressed [to him] that he should learn about the condition of her Ladyship and bring [back] a good report, so that [our] heart's bondage to her may be achieved. Although he [the bearer of the letter] shall have a little commercial business, his goal is to come to before you and bring back good news. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh.

275(280)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر پیش ملازمان حضرت خانم آنکه از آن جهت که شنیده شده است که با وجود خردسالی همگی همت مصروف بردانستن شریعت محمد رسول الله است صل الله علیه و علی آله دل گرفتار آن حضرت است امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه همگی همت را مصروف برآن دارد که ترویج شریعت به اقصی وجوه واقع شود به انوار شریعت ظلمت ارباب هوا کم شود دارنده رقعه نیازمتوجه بود مبالغه کرده شد که از احوال خانم دانسته اخبار نیك آرد تا گرفتاری دل به

---

[56] Letter no. 274(279) is a chronogram letter written by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī upon the death of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[57] The letter is likely to have been addressed to the servitors of one of the Timurid women, possibly to one of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's wives.

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ایشان میسر شود اگرچه اورا اندك تجارتی خواهد بود لیکن
مقصود آن بود که بملازمت رسیده اخبار نیکو بیارد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

276(281)

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that when this *faqīr* arrived in Marv at a time when I needed help, I received much help from Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Khāliq to the point of becoming embarrassed. Until now, the reward for that kindness has not been forthcoming from me. At this time, when through His pure kindness toward His servants, God has established your Majesty [in power], I am requesting recompense for the kindness that he showed to his well-wishers and am recommending him to the infinite kindness of your Majesty.[58] I trust that what is his good in the two worlds will be granted to him through favor and kindness. It is hoped from the infinite kindness of the Almighty that He will bestow additional power over the external and spiritual enemies [*aᶜdā'-yi ṣūrī va maᶜnavī*] and victory in the spread and exaltation of the Sharīᶜa of [the Prophet] Muḥammad, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), so that worldly and spiritual favor may be seen from now on. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

276(281)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه این فقیر درآن وقت که بمرو رسیده
بودم در زمانی که احتیاج بمدد بود از خواجه عبدالخالق مدد بسیار

[58] Jāmī makes a similar for request for favor on behalf of Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Khāliq. In his letter he states that when Khwāja Aḥrār was in Marv he stayed in ᶜAbd al-Khāliq's house. See *Pis'ma avtografy*, 102, no. 262(267) and fol. 69. Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Khāliq is one of the three sons of Sayyid Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī. Khwāja Aḥrār's elder son, Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh (also known as Khwājakā Khwāja, Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Muḥammad, Khwāja Kalān-Khwājah, and Khwāja-Khwāja) was Taqī al-Dīn's son-in-law. For a discussion of Sayyid Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad, see *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2. 579.

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یافته شرمنده شده بودم مکافات آن نیکی ازین فقیر تا غایت نیامده
بود این زمان که حق سبحانه بمحض عنایت بنسبت بندگان خود
حضرت شما را مقرر کرد مکافات آن نیکی که بنسبت
هواخواهان ازو واقع شد از خدمت شما التماس کرده اورا
بعنایت بی نهایت حضرت شما سپارش میکنم یقین که آنچه خیر
دارین اوست بموجب عنایت و کرم مرحمت بنسبت او ارزانی
خواهند داشت امید از الطاف بی نهایت حضرت حق سبحانه
آنکه مزید قدرت بر اعداء صوری و معنوی بتوفیق ترویج و
تعظیم شریعت محمد رسول الله صل الله علیه و علی آله و سلم
ارزانی دارد تا ببعد دیده شود آنچه هیچ کس ندیده است از
الطاف صوریه و معنویه والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

277(282)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that the sons of the honorable Amīr ᶜAlī, Amīr Sulṭān [and] Amīr Nuᶜmān, have remained there [in Herat]. Here [in Samarqand] their father and families are grieving over their separation. The request is that through the kindness of [your] noble mind they will be able to come here to their fathers. I trust that this request will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

277(282)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه پسران خدمت امیر
علی امیر سلطان [و] امیر نعمان آنجا مانده اند اینجا پدر و

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متعلقان از جدائی ایشان متاءلمند التماس آنکه به التفات خاطر
شریف چنان شود که ایشان اینجا پیش پدر خود بیایند یقین که
ملتمس مبذول خواهد بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

278(282a)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his honor, Amīr Sulṭān-Aḥmad Chahārshanba has requested that this *faqīr* request that your honor arrange that [now], at the end of his life, his Royal Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated), might relinquish [him] to the worship of God and release him from [royal] service. It is hoped that your honor will arrange for him to attain what he has intended.[59] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

278(282a)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت امیر سلطان احمد چهارشنبه
التماس کرده اند که این فقیر التماس کنم که خدمت شما خاطری
دارند که ایشانرا در آخر حیوه حضرت سلطنت شعاری خلد
ظلال عاطفته بعبادت حق سبحانه گذارند و از ملازمت معاف
دارند یقین که خدمت شما خاطر برآن خواهند داشت که ایشان
به آنچه نیت کرده اند برسند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[59] Khwāja Aḥrār makes this same request in letter no. 295(299).

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279(283)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of this letter, his honor, Khwāja Rūḥ al-Dīn, has been staying in this *vilāyat* [Mawarannahr] for a long time. The ties of friendship and companionship between him and this *faqīr* have become manifold. At this time he is heading to that *vilāyat* [Khurāsān]. The request is that, to the extent possible, favor not be denied to him. Each favor given to the Khwāja shall be a favor to me. I trust that this request will not denied. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

279(283)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز خدمت خواجه روح الدین دیر گاهیست که ایشان درین ولایت مانده اند حقوق دوستی و اختلاط میان ایشان و این فقیر بسیار است درین وقت متوجه آن ولایت شده اند التماس آنکه بنسبت ایشان آن مقدار که ممکن است عنایت دریغ نفرمایند هر عنایت که بنسبت این خواجه خواهند کرد آن عنایت بنسبت این فقیر خواهد بود یقین که این ملتمس مردود نخواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

280(284)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is this: I am certain that twice as much favor as was manifested [externally] in the letter of favor through [your] pure favor with respect to me was in fact given; in return I would say only, "May God reward you with good on our behalf." It shall be clear to the radiant minds of the servants that false reports have always been on the tongues of the evil ones [*ashrār*]. There is no reason that the likes of us *faqīrs*

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should be affected by it, except that it might cause turbulence in the minds of the Muslims who are engaged in the protection of his Majesty even though there is complete confidence in what the Prophet Muḥammad, (Peace be upon him and his family), has stated, "Whoever is for God, God is for him." If all the distinguished ones [*sar-āfrāzān*] become servants to one whose intention in [assuming] the robe of royalty is to manifest the grandeur and majesty of the faith and realm [*millat*] of the Prophet, the Messenger of God (Peace be upon him and his family), it would not be surprising. It is certain that there would be nothing but gratitude toward such an exalted [ruler] for subduing the likes of those [evil] people. We are awaiting God most high to honor all [concerned parties] with the blessing of agreement, and to make [this] the reason for the manifestation of the lights of the Sharīᶜa.[60] Through His favor and kindness may as much endeavor as possible be made in attaining this happiness. May the Almighty make it possible. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

280(284)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه یقین این فقیر آنست
که به اضعاف آن که در عنایت نامه اظهار عنایت بمحض عنایت
بنسبت این فقیر کرده شده است عنایت واقع است در مقابله جز
آنکه میگویم جزاکم الله عنا خیرا هیچ نیست بر ضمایر منیره
خدام روشن خواهد بود که اکاذیب اخبار بر زبان اشرار همیشه
می بوده است جهت آنکه امثال ما فقیران از آن متاءثر شویم هیچ
نیست غیر آنکه در خاطر آید که مسلمین که در قید حفظ
آنحضرتند مشوش نشوند اگرچه اعتماد کلی برانست که حضرت
رسالت صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم فرموده اند من کان لله

[60] Here Khwāja Aḥrār is referring to the agreement of peace.

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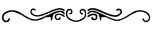
كان الله له كسی که اورا مقصود از کسوت لباس سلطنت اظهار حشمت و شوکت دین و ملت محمد رسول الله باشد صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم اگر همه سرافرازان بنده شوند چه محل تعجب خواهد [بود] یقین که از انقیاد امثال آن مردم این چنین عالی جنابی را غیر شکر چیزی نخواهد بود انتظاری می کشیم که حق سبحانه [و تعالی] بتوفیق موافقت همه را مشرف گردانیده سبب ظهو[ر] انوار شریعت گرداند بمنه و کرمه بقدر امکان اهتمام در حصول این سعادت کرده می شود باشد که حق سبحانه میسر گرداند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



281(285)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that what his Royal Majesty has written [to us] is in such a manner that the likes of us *faqīrs* are incapable of fathoming. But the servitors, despite their acknowledgment [of this], say a few things, all of which the bearers of this letter have made known. We are certain that what they have learned will be revealed to your honor. In reality, some news is causing trouble on this side [Mawarannahr] which leads to other news [rumors], which then causes grief. In truth, however, on this side [Mawarannahr] there is nothing but friendship.[61]

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[61] Comparing this letter to no. 282(286), it is possible that it concerns relations between Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, who is referred to as *makhdūmzāda* in letter no. 282(286). In the latter case, Khwāja Aḥrār writes to assure Sulṭān-Ḥusayn that Sulṭān-Maḥmūd is not instigating a rebellion. If this letter is connected to the rebellion of Aḥmad Mushtāq, we know from Khwāndamīr that Sulṭān-Maḥmūd did in fact camp with his army on the banks of the Oxus River to help Aḥmad Mushtāq. For a discussion of the rebellion, see HS, vol.4, 161-164; HS Thackston, tome 3, 434.

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بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه آنچه حضرت سلطنت شعاری نوشته بودند همه آنچنانست که از غور آن امثال ما فقیران عاجزیم لیکن ملازمان با وجود اعتراف خبری چند میگویند که دارندگان رقعه نیاز آن همه را معلوم کرده اند یقین که آنچه دانسته اند بعرض شریف خواهند رسانید در واقع در بعضی خبرها درین جانب اضطرار باعث بر بعضی خبرها می شود که موجب دل مانده گی می شود لیکن بحقیقت درین جانب جز دوستی هیچ نیست

الفقیر عبیدالله

282(286)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the honorable *amīr* was here for a while. He did not reveal anything that would attest to the *makhdūmzāda's* [Sulṭān-Maḥmūd's] opposition, other than [the fact] that he wishes there to be concord in [these] affairs. If some things happen in different places it is certain that it is not with his approval. All the time he is intent on maintaining the path of stability. It is hoped that, with the infinite kindness of the Almighty, your honor and the *makhdūmzādas* will follow the approval of the Almighty so that the light of the Sharīᶜa may spread, and the Muslims may become prosperous, [and] the eastern infidels [*kafara-yi sharqīyya*] may be removed with the help and mutual assistance of the kings, and the Muslims may be saved from them. These days the *jihād* upon which the happiness of the two worlds depends is this.[62] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[62] By "eastern infidels" Khwāja Aḥrār may be referring to the tribes of the Chaghatayid realm in Eastern Turkistan, as opposed to the "northern" tribes. However, it is also possible that Khwāja Aḥrār may be applying the term more broadly to non-Muslim or nominally Islamized Turkic tribes.

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بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه مدتی خدمت امیر اینجا بودند چیزی
که دلالت کند بر مخالفتی مخدوم زاده را معلوم نکردند غیر آنکه
میخواهند که موافق باشند در کارها اگر بعضی چیزها از اطراف
ظاهر شود یقین که برضای ایشان نیست همیشه برآنند که در نگاه
داشت عهود طریقه استقامت بگاه دارند امید از الطاف بی نهایت
حق سبحانه آنکه حضرت شما را و مخدوم زادگانرا بر آن دارند
که رضای حق سبحانه درآن باشد تا شریعت مروج شود
مسلمین را رفاهیت شود کفرهء شرقیه بمعاونت و تعاضد
پادشاهان منکوب شوند مسلمین را از ایشان نجاتی شود جهادی
که سعادت دارین منوط برآن است درین روزگار اینست والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

283(287)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of the petition, his holiness the great descendant of ʿAli, has arrived here from a far distance. This *faqīr* requests from the servitors of his Majesty that his request may be granted. His request is that which is clear in the edicts of the kings [*nishānhā-yi pādishāhān*]. Although achieving his goal did not require [his] coming here [to Samarqand], inasmuch as the Almighty wishes to honor me with the favor of the *ahl-i-bayt* - and there is no honor greater than for people to be bound by affection toward the *ahl-i bayt* - and to serve them, since they were sent as a means of gaining closeness to the holy Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May God bless him and his family and grant him peace), the request is that purely for God's sake, and in order to benefit from the infinite help [that comes] through connection to the

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ahl-i bayt and to be honored with reaping the felicity of the two worlds, proper respect be shown to him [the *sayyid*] and his request be granted. I trust that the endeavor of his Majesty [the Sulṭān] in seeing to the needs of this family, which is the greatest of all humankind, will be greater than that of all [other] Muslims [combined]. Peace and respect!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

283(287)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز مرتضی اعظم از مسافت بعید اینجا آمده اند بدرخواستی که ملازمان آن حضرت را این فقیر کنم ملتمس ایشان برآورده شود ملتمس ایشان آنست که در نشانهای پادشاهان مبین است اگر چه حصول این مقصود موقوف برآمدن اینجا نبود چونکه حق سبحانه میخواهد که این فقیر را بشرف التفات اهل بیت مشرف گرداند که هیچ شرفی بزرگتر از آن نیست که آدمیان گرفتار محبت اهل بیت گردند و خدمت ایشان کنند که برای یافت قربت بحضرت محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله وسلم ایشانرا فرستاده اند التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه و از برای آنکه به امداد بی نهایت از نسبت اهل بیت بهره مند شده بنقد سعادت دارین مشرف شوند احترام ایشان بجای آورده مقصود ایشانرا برآرند یقین که اهتمام آنحضرت در برآوردن حاجات این خانه دان که بزرگترین مردم اند بیشتر از تمام مسلمین خواهد بود والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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After the statement of supplication, it is reported and presented that this *faqīr* has no request from his Majesty [the Sulṭān] except that he not bind the likes of this *faqīr* to [various attachments], and that he seek from the Almighty the utmost resolve so that the Almighty may save him from the necessities of human existence to which everyone is bound, and may [God, still] not engage him in anything other than the satisfaction of God and the welfare of the Muslims. It shall be clear to the sun-like radiant mind [of the Sulṭān] that the rank of sovereignty [*manṣab-i salṭanat*] suits nothing but this one aspiration.[63]

It is hoped from the infinite kindness of the Almighty that he shall assist in the attainment of that which serves the good of all Muslims of all regions. May he show favor so that at all times, that which partakes of the necessities of human nature be removed beneath the lights of beautiful virtues, and everyone may be in a state of affection and sincere friendship [*maqām- maḥabbat va khullat*], so some tranquility may be achieved for the Muslims. Whether or not all the well-being of this sort materializes, May the Almighty with His favor and magnanimity save all people from what should not be and what is improper [*na-bāyad va na-shāyad*]. To His grace and respect. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

284(288)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع و معروض آنکه این فقیررا التماس از آن حضرت جز آن نیست که ایشان بگرفتاریها امثال این فقیر گرفتار نکردند از حق سبحانه همگی همت آن طلبند که از مقتضیات وجود بشری که همه گرفتارآنند حق سبحانه ایشانرا نجات داده جز در مراضی خود و رفاهیت مسلمین بچیزی دیگر مشغول نگرداند بر ضمیر مهر تخمیر چون آفتاب روشن خواهد [بود] که

[63] In his letter Khwāja Aḥrār repeats his advice to the Sulṭān that he should protect the Muslim populace in order to achieve tranquility in this world and the next.

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منصب سلطنت را مناسب جز این همت هیچ نیست امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه بتوفیق آنچه خیر تمامت مسلمین اطراف است موفق گردانیده چنان عنایت فرماید که همه دوران به زیر انوار محاسن اخلاق آنچه از مقتضیات بشریت دارند دور گردانیده همه در مقام محبت و خلت شوند تا آسایشی مسلمانرا میسر شود همگی این چنین رفاهیت شود یا نشود از آنچه نباید و نشاید حق سبحانه همه را نگاه دارد بمنه و کرمه و السلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

285(289)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his honor [my] father has set out to perform the pilgrimage [*ziyārat*] to the House of God [in Mecca]. This *faqīr* wished to have the honor of accompanying him.[64] Due to some difficulties, this happiness was not to be. It is requested that he may be allowed to set out without any hardship. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

285(289)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت والد متوجه زیارت بیت الله شدند این فقیر خواستم که خود را بشرف همراهی ایشان مشرف ساخته عزیمت کنم بسبب موانع این سعادت دست نداد

[64] Khwāja Aḥrār's father, Khwāja Muḥammad, was an established shaykh in Tashkent. His paternal ancestor, Khwāja Muḥammad al-Nāmī, was originally from Baghdad, although some say he was from Khwārazm. He is identified as one of the companions of the Shafᶜite jurist, Abū Bakr Qaffāl Shāshī (*Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 366). There is no evidence of which we are aware that Khwāja Aḥrār ever made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

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التماس آنکه چنان شود که بی زحمت متوجه توانند شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

286(290)

After the statement of supplication it is reported that as a favor, his Majesty [the Sulṭān], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated), had sent a letter of favor [*ᶜināyat-nāma*] [and] it arrived. That [which was written] was already known to this *faqīr* from Khwāja ᶜAlī.[65] But in the mouths of the populace [other] news was [issuing] from those arriving from Khurāsān, the likes of which is reported here. [Our] sincerity of faith is so great that we do not believe such reports. We had requested several things in that note [and] it is requested that [your] noble mind be directed to the fulfillment of my request. This *faqīr* had the boldness to send someone not because it was within my authority, but rather because the order for reconciliation [*amr be ṣilāḥ*] was issued from the court [*pīshgāh*] [of the Sulṭān]. There is also the experience that some things not pleasing to God may be found in such reports. This is why [I] overstepped the bounds. When the *sayyid* came [here to Samarqand], although he denied some of what he said here, the matter that had occurred was certain. [The mention of] that too would have also been overstepping the bounds [to report to you]. What he was stating was very unworthy of the servitors of his Majesty. After finding out [about this] I prohibited him [the *sayyid*] from telling stories of this kind. Because he said many things, I have been so bold as to present an example, so that in the end all Muslims may fare well.[66] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

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[65] This letter suggests that Khwājā ᶜAlī had been to Herat to receive Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's orders in connection with peace negotiations between the Timurid princes. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 633-634; also cited by Paul, *Die politische*, 97. See also the earlier discussion of Khwāja ᶜAlī in Chapter 3.

[66] Apparently the "unworthy" news that Khwāja ᶜAlī and the *sayyid* brought back from the court to Khwāja Aḥrār concerning Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and his intentions regarding the peace process was disagreeable to him. Khwāja Aḥrār apparently had sent someone, possibly to the princes, to follow up on the Sulṭān's reconciliation plan.

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286(290)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه آنچه بمحض عنایت آن حضرت خلد ظلال عاطفه عنایت نامه فرستاده بوده رسید آن صورت از خواجه علی پیش این فقیر ظاهر شده بود لیکن در افواه عوام از آیندگان خراسان خبری بوده است بر تقریری که امثال آن حکایت اینجا گفته شود صدق عقیده در آن مرتبه هست که آن نوع خبرها را تصدیق نکنیم چند چیز درآن خط التماس کرده ایم التماس آنکه خاطر شریف برآن باشد که مراد این فقیر برآید این فقیر گستاخی کرده کسی فرستادم نه از آن جهت بود که مرا حد آن باشد چونکه امر به صلاح از پیشگاه واقع است تجربه نیز واقع است که در امثال این نوع خبرها چیزی چند واقع میشود که رضا حق سبحانه در آن نیست[67] بنابران گستاخی کرده شد سید که آمده بودند اگر چه انکار بعضی از آنچه اینجا گفتند کرده اند لیکن امر واقع ثابت بود آن نیز جهت جراءت می شد آنچه ایشان می گفتند بسیار نامناسب ملازمان آن حضرت بود بعد وقوف این فقیر ایشانرا منع کرده ام که امثال این حکایات گفته نشود چونکه بسیار چیزی گفتند این جراءت صورت امتثال می نموده باشد که عاقبت تمام مسلمین خیر باشد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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[67] It is possible to read the word as است. However, based on the context of the letter, we read it as نیست.

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After the statement of supplication, it is reported that knowledge of the affairs of state [*maṣāliḥ-i mulkī*], which are many, is known to this *faqīr*.[68] As I have believed the affairs of state to be nothing other than seeking the satisfaction of God, so I also believe that the *makhdūmzādas* have believed [this]. For this reason, for the sake of attaining happiness in both worlds, we are begging and pleading, "Do not seek this ceiling except through this ladder." Whatever warning his honor, Amīr Muḥammad has issued is justified by his abundance of mercy on the majority of the Muslims and is excusable.[69] However, when certain reports became widely known, it became clear [that] after its spread, there was no recourse but to support it. The petition is that his honor [Amīr Muḥammad] and this *faqīr* should be excused. Whatever the bearer of the note has found out here, he shall inform the servitors of it. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

287(291)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه این فقیر را دانش مصالح ملکی معلوم باشد که چند باشد مصلحت ملك را جز در رضا جویی حق سبحانه چونکه اعتقاد نکرده ایم این نیز اعتقاد میکنیم که مخدوم زاده گان نیز این چنین اعتقاد کرده اند بنابران در رسیدن بسعادت دوجهانی التماس کرده ایم و میگوییم که این سقفگاه را بجز این نردبان مخواه آنچه خدمت امیر محمد تنبیه فرموده اند بنابر وفور

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[68] The affairs of state may be those of Sulṭān-Aḥmad, ruler of Samarqand.

[69] Khwāja Aḥrār may be referring to Darvīsh Muḥammad Tarkhān, one of Sulṭān-Aḥmad's *amīrs* who was also Sulṭān-Aḥmad's mother's brother. According to Bābur, "Of all *begs* in Sultan Aḥmad Mīrzā's presence, he was the greatest and most honoured. He was an orthodox believer, kindly and darweshlike, and was a constant transcriber of the Qur'an," *Bābur-nāma*, 38. On the *amīr*'s link to the Tarkhān family, see Shiro Ando, "Das Corps der timuridischen Emire unter Šāhruḫ," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 17(1989):368-396. Khwāja Aḥrār is asking for the Sulṭān's forgiveness of the *amīr's* actions, the exact nature of which is unclear.

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شفقت بر کافه مسلمین گمان برده باشند معذور خواهند بود لیکن بعضی از خبرها چونکه اشتهار برده [است][70] آنچه معلوم بود بعد از شیوع آن از اعانه آن چاره نبود التماس آنکه ایشان و این فقیر معذور باشیم آنچه اینجا خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز معلوم کرده باشند بعرض ملازمان خواهند رسانید والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

288(292)

The request is that those imprisoned by error and fettered in the chains of reprehensible customs [*rusūm*], goods, and other physical and spiritual attachments, may they be restored [here in Mawarannahr] with the assistance of your exalted grace. Peace! [71]

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

288(292)

التماس آنکه گرفتاران ضلال و نکال بقیود رسوم و اسباب و سایر متعلقات صوریه و معنویه را از مدد همت عالی شاید گردانیده شود والسلام

290(294)[72]

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that the honorable bearer of the letter is a very noble and virtuous man. He is known to all rulers for his virtue and knowledge. He is always occupied with

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[70] Only برده appears in the original text.

[71] Khwāja Aḥrār uses the term *rusūm* to refer to non-Sharᶜī customs. Only the concluding sentences of this letter are found in the manuscript.

[72] Letter no. 289(293) is that of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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counseling the Muslims and exhorting the people to the Straight Path of the Prophet Muḥammad, (May prayers and peace be upon him). The request is for all the nobles [*makhādīm*] in your service to observe respect and to honor him and, in those matters with which he appeals, to bestow upon him the favor of [their] noble mind. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

290(294)[73]

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز بسی مردم
اصیل فاضل اند پیش همه پادشاهان بفضل و دانش معلوم اند
همیشه بنصیحت مسلمین مشغول بوده اند بر جاده مستقیمه
مصطفویه علیه الصلواه والسلام مردم را ترغیب می کردند
التماس از تمامت مخادیم آنکه توقیر و تعظیم ایشان مرعی دارند
و بمهمی که رجوع نمایند التفات خاطر شریف ارزانی فرمایند
والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

291(295)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that anyone's service to kings is in accordance with the abilities of that person. From *faqīrs* such as myself, service is nothing other than that we know a thing to be the cause of a decrease of happiness in the two worlds, and that we request, in the form of supplication, that they [the rulers] take it upon themselves to abandon that thing, so that [this] becomes the cause of an increase of fortune in the two worlds.[74]

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[73] Letter no. 289(293) is that of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[74] Here Khwāja Aḥrār affirms the obligatory role of the shaykh to advise *sulṭāns* in order to protect the Muslim populace. Sayings attributed to Khwāja Aḥrār in his biographies similarly relate this position. See, for example, *Silsilat,* ff. 101a-101b.

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For some time many things have been heard, [and] it is suspected that those things will bring harm. We would be so bold as to request the abandonment of those things. Because we hear that all those things are being done on the basis of *fatwās*, we cannot dare [to question them]. But if this [the issued *fatwās*] was not an obstacle, we would have dared. It was not ascertained whether the *fatwā* concerned the permissability of doing those things, or [concerned] their obligatory character. If it was an obligation, what remedy is there? If necessity was the reason for that, such that if they did not do those things, great harm would befall a great many people, then [it depends on] the extent of the necessity: if merely [some] influence has occurred, that is something else; this is not considered necessity, and [rulers] should make efforts [to ensure] that no such necessity occurs. My surmise is that no such necessity exists.[75] There is a firm hope that the Almighty shall make [you] succeed in abandoning what is not the necessity of the [present] time. Here [in Samarqand] too, there are learned scholars [*dānishmand*]. It has not been heard from them that they approve of such things. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

291(295)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت هرکس بنسبت پادشاهان
بحسب استعداد هرکس می باشد از امثال ما فقیران خدمت جزآن
نیست که چیزی که سبب نقصان سعادت دارین دانیم بوصف نیاز

Samarqandī reports that Khwāja Aḥrār said, "A good Khwāja must benefit Muslims and he must also mingle with *amīrs* and *sulṭāns* so that his pious being encourages them to occupy themselves with the good of the people and avoid injustice and oppression." See also Jo-Ann Gross, "Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh," 109-121; Hamid Algar, "Political Aspects of Naqshbandī History," 123-152.

[75] It is unclear what action Khwāja Aḥrār is asking Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to abandon. What is clear, however, is that Khwāja Aḥrār is questioning the nature and parameters of the *fatwā* that was issued. The concern is whether the *fatwā* was issued to legitimize the action, whether the *fatwā* was an obligation that necessitated the action, and whether or not the action was done to alleviate hardship. Khwāja Aḥrār is of the opinion that the action was not necessary, and he suggests, moreover, that the juridical authorities in Herat were acting in the Sulṭān's interests rather than in the interest of upholding the law.

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التماس کنیم که آن چیزرا کرم بر خود کرده ترك کنند تا سبب
مزید دولت دارین گردد دیرگاهست که بسیار چیزها شنوده
می شود که گمان آن می شود که زیان خواهد داشت گستاخی
کرده میخواهیم که التماس ترك آن چیزها کنیم ازین جهت که
می شنویم که آن همه بفتوی کرده می شود نمی توانیم جراءت کرد
اگر این مانع نبودی جراء ت کرده شدی دانسته نشد که فتوی بر
جواز کردن آن کارهاست یا بر وجوب اگر وجوب باشد چه
درمان اگر ضرورتی باعث بران باشد که اگر آن کارها را نکنند
ضرری عظیم بر کافه خلایق می رسد بقدر ضرورت اگر تصرفی
واقع شود آن چیزی دیگر است ضرورتی چنان فهم نمی شود
همتی دارند که آنچنان ضرورتی واقع نشود مارا گمان آنست که
آنچنان ضرورتی واقع نیست رجاء واثق که حق سبحانه از آنچه
ضرورت وقت نیست بتوفیق ترك آن مشرف گرداند اینجا نیز
مردم دانشمند هستند از ایشان فهم نمیشود که امثال آن چیزها را
تجویز کنند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

292(296)

After the statement of supplication, the petition is this: it is suspected that because of the turmoil, the princes are unable to be patient, and the Muslims on both sides are being disturbed.[76] We are exerting our

[76] Khwāja Aḥrār evidently was concerned that the princes would lose patience with the peace process. He apparently was attempting to thwart further aggression on their part.

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efforts so that the princes will heed his Majesty. If [your] effort might also be expended in this regard, it is certain that it would be a great blessing. For this reason, a story was told, as if I had told it; perhaps it was not controversial. These people are severely troubled; [and] from the excess of reports, it happens that *faqirs* such as myself are telling tales.[77] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

292(296)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه گمان آن است که شاید که
بسبب اضطرار مخدوم زادگان صبر نتوانند کرد تشویش مسلمین
طرفین شود التماس همتی میکنیم که مخدوم زادگان از آن
حضرت رعایتی یابند اگر همتی درین باب مصروف شود یقین
است که خیری عظیم است بنابرین حکایتی گفته شده بود تا
چگونه گفته باشیم شاید خلافی نبوده باشد این مردم قوی
اضطراری دارند از غایت خبرها واقع می شود که امثال ما فقیران
حکایتی میگویم والسلام
الفقیر عبیدالله

293(297)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that [your] letter of favor [*ᶜināyat-nāma*] arrived. These people were awaiting his Majesty's support, and it reached [them] without much delay, although every day the damage [caused] by both sides was to such a degree that the Muslims were left with no other recourse but to [seek] peace from the *raᶜāyā*. Out of necessity, a party of Muslims

[77] In many of his letters connected to peace negotiations Khwāja Aḥrār expresses his concern about the dissemination of stories and rumors; see nos. 58 (61) and 286(290), for example.

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proposed peace, [and] they made peace.[78] If they had not made peace it would have been difficult for them. The request is that all of his Majesty's effort be used to establish peace and friendship between the kinsmen [*khvīshān*]. For the affairs of this world, the smallness and largeness of territories [*vilāyāt*] should not be brought to mind.[79] The interest of the Muslims should be the focus of his Majesty's mind. The well being of the Muslims should be considered. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

293(297)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه عنایت نامه رسید این مردم را انتظار تاءید از آن حضرت بود لیکن تاءخیر بسیار نمی شد کرد چه هر روز ویرانی از جانبین بدرجه بود که مسلمین را از رعایا جز صلح نمی ماند بضرور اقدام بصلح جماعتی از مسلمین کرده صلح کردند اگر صلح نشدی مشکل بود التماس آنکه همگی همت آن حضرت مصروف برآن باشد که میان خویشان دوستی و صلح شود برای مصالح این عالم قلت و کثرت ولایات را در نظر آورده نشود مصلحت مسلمین منظور نظر آن حضرت باشد خیریت مسلمین مرعی باشد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[78] The implication here is that the peace process was initiated by Khwāja Aḥrār himself.

[79] This echoes Khwāja Aḥrār's request in letter no. 52(53, 58) in which he asks Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to give a portion of crown land (*mamālik*) to the princes as part of the peace settlement.

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294(298a,b)[80]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the honorable *sayyid* came. He was here for a while. He is completely informed about the condition of all, and is also aware of the condition of the *makhdūmzāda*.[81] Except for maintaining respectful conduct [*adab*] towards the servitors [*khuddām*] of his Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā] he has kept nothing else. It is requested that purely for God's sake, [your] noble mind take care to direct his Majesty's noble mind to the *makhdūmzāda*. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

294(298a,b)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت سید آمدند چندگاه اینجا
بودند از احوال همه وقوفی تمام ازاحوال مخدوم زاده نیز
مطلع اند غیر نگاه داشت ادب بنسبت خدام حضرت سلطنت
شعاری چیزی نداشته اند التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه
خاطر شریف برآن باشد که التفات خاطر شریف آن حضرت
بنسبت مخدوم زاده [خواهد شد والسلام][82]

295(299)

After the statement of supplication it is reported that just as, through pure grace, [you] have bestowed kindness upon this *faqīr* by granting the needs of the Muslims according to my request, all people wish to attain their desires, material and spiritual, worldly and otherworldly, through your Majesty's grace. His honor, Amīr Sulṭān-Aḥmad Chahārshanba has also requested that I request from the servitors

[80] Letter no. 298a begins on the right side at the bottom of folio 20b and continues to the left in no. 298b.

[81] The *makhdūmzāda* is most likely Sulṭān-Maḥmūd.

[82] The concluding words are missing from the page.

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[*khuddām*] of his Majesty that his Majesty show favor at this time when he has become old and release him for service to God.[83] It is a good deed that ought to be brought to mind, and has been. The request is that he be relieved [from service] and be commanded to occupy himself with the worship of the Almighty. Peace!

ᶜUbayd Allāh

295(299)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه چونکه بمحض عنایت التفات به این فقیر کرده حاجات مسلمین را به التماس این فقیر اجابة واقع شده است همه مردم میخواهند که بمرادات صوری و معنوی دنیاوی و اخروی از التفات حضرت شما برسند خدمت امیر سلطان احمد چهارشنبه نیز التماس کرده اند که این فقیر از خدام آن حضرت التماس کنم که آنحضرت عنایت فرموده ایشانرا درین وقت که پیر شده اند به بندگی حق سبحانه گذارند امر خیری که می باید که بر خاطر آرند آورده اند ملتمس آنکه ایشانرا آزاد کرده اشارت فرمایند که بعبادت حق سبحانه مشغول باشند والسلام

عبیدالله

296(300)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the brother and the household of Amīr Ḥājjī Muḥammad … [84] have stayed there [in Herat] for a long time.It shall be clear what shall result from their being there. The pain of separation is with them there, as is also the pain [of their relatives] here. It is requested that an appeal be made to

[83] Khwāja Aḥrār makes the same request in letter no. 278(282a).

[84] Only part of the name is legible.

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his Majesty [the Sulṭān], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[85] and that his noble mind be directed toward giving permission so that [Amīr Hājjī Muḥammad's] brother may bring his mother here [to Samarqand]. I trust that this request will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

296(300)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه برادر و متعلقان امیر حاجی محمد
... دیرآنجا مانده اند ازبودن ایشان آنجا معلوم باشد که چه[86]
خواهد بود الم جدایی ایشانرا آنجا هست اینجا نیز الم واقع است
التماس آنکه بعرض آنحضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته] رسانیده
خاطر شریف ملتفت بآن گردانیده شود که آنحضرت اجازت
دهند که برادر ایشان والده خودرا اینجا بیارد یقین که ملتمس
مبذول خواهد بود

الفقیر عبیدالله

297(301)

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī, the bearer of this letter of petition, has a request from his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated), which he shall convey to [your] noble mind.[87] He [the bearer of the letter] is hopeful that through your honor's favor, his request from his Majesty will be granted. It is requested that [your] noble mind may be directed to the fruition of his goal. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

---

[85] The *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

[86] Only three letters of the name, دیر, are legible.

[87] The *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

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297(301)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز مرتضی اعظم را از آن حضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته][88] ملتمس است که بعرض شریف خواهند رسانید امیدوارند بعنایت خدمت شما که ملتمس ایشان از آن حضرت برآورده خواهد شد التماس آنکه خاطر شریف بحصول مقصود ایشان ملتفت خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

298(302)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that this *faqīr*'s petition is as follows: this *faqīr* has been so bold as to request a petition to be made before his Majesty [the Sulṭān]. The request [in this letter] is that your noble mind may ensure that the request is ennobled with the honor of acceptance. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

298(302)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه گستاخی کرده پیش آن حضرت التماس عرضه داشت کرده شده است التماس آنکه خاطر شریف برآن باشد که ملتمس بشرف قبول مشرف شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[88] Written on the upper right margin.

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299(303)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his honor, Amīr Qāsim, has gone there [to Khurāsān]. He has family here. It is requested that your noble mind be directed to ensure that he may return to his family.

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

299(303)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت امیر قاسم آنجا رفته اند اینجا متعلقان دارند التماس آنکه خاطر شریف ملتفت به آن باشد که ایشان پیش متعلقان خود بیایند

300(304a,b)[89]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of the letter will present his request to the servitors [of his Majesty, the Sulṭān]. I trust that through the favor of the servitors his request will be achieved. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

300(304a,b)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز ملتمس خود پیش ملازمان عرضه داشت خواهند کرد یقین آنست که به التفات ملازمان ملتمس ایشان حاصل خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[89] Letter no. 304a begins on the left side at the bottom of folio 21a and continues as letter 304b, which is located on the right side of folio 21a and faces sideways.

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301(305)

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that:

Where can the beggars go from the beneficent threshold?
Seek what you need from those of integrity.

Insofar as the goal of this *faqīr* is for Muslims on all sides to be at peace, [through] the presence of rulers [*arbāb-i ḥukm*] upon whose existence the ordering of the affairs of Muslims depends, I am always seeking this goal through supplication and cannot abandon this goal. [It is] for this reason [that] I am troubling [his Majesty's] servitors. It is hoped that with the infinite grace of the Almighty that the means of attaining this goal will be achieved with ease. Insofar as the majority of Muslims occupy themselves with that which is [their] goal, namely the continuation of drawing near to God through the avoidance of worldly obstacles, unless the rulers of the lands of Muslims become of one heart and one resolve in observing the command of God, and occupy themselves with fending off the evil of physical and spiritual enemies [*ᶜadā'-yi ṣūrī va maᶜnavī*], great difficulty may appear in connection with these lands. Requesting agreement on this issue is the duty [entailed] by [my] service.[90] With respect to all [parties], may God ensure, through His pure favor, that the affairs of Muslims be adorned with rectitude. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

301(305)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه

کجا روند گدایان ازآستان کریم　　اطلبوا الحوایج عند حسان الوجوه

چونکه این فقیر را مقصود آنست که بسبب وجود ارباب حکم که نظام احوال مسلمین منوط بر وجود شریف ایشان است مسلمین در همه جانب آسوده خاطر باشند همیشه برسم نیازمندی این

[90] Khwāja Aḥrār reiterates his obligation to advise Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to strive for unity and to repel and overthrow the enemies of both worlds.

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مقصود را التماس مینمایم ترك اینمعنی نمیتوانم کرد ازین جهت
مصدع ملازمان می شوم امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه
آنکه اسباب یافت این مقصود را بآسانی میسر گرداند بمنه و کرمه
چونکه اشتغال کافه مسلمین به آنچه مقصود است یعنی دوام
اقبال بحق سبحانه به اعراض از موانع ناسوتی بی آنکه پادشاهان
بلاد مسلمین درنگاهداشت فرمان حق سبحانه یکدل و یك همت
شده بدفع شر اعداء صوری و معنوی مشغول شوند تا غایت
متعذر ظاهر شود بنسبت این بلاد التماس موافقت درین معنی
وظیفه خدمت این فقیر است بنسبت همه باشد که حق سبحانه
بمحض عنایت چنان کند که احوال مسلمین به استقامت آراسته
شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

301a[91]

" ... people are students in the madrasa[?] ... they set out ... The request[?] is that attention be given to their condition ... if [they] appeal [to you?], [it is hoped] that your noble mind may be engaged with their needs. Peace!

301a

... مردم طالب علمند در مدرسه(؟) ایشانرا شده بود متوجه(؟)

[91] This a fragment of a letter. In the preserved passage the author asks the addressee to direct his attention to the situation of the bearer of the letter, who is experiencing difficulty. Although written in a delicate pen in a style distinctive from his other letters, it bears Khwāja Aḥrār's handwriting. The letter, located on folio 21a, is numbered 303 in the original. Asom Urunbaev has assigned it the number 301a, since the letter adjacent to it on the left is numbered 303.

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شده اند ال[تماس] آنکه ملاحظه(؟) احوال ایشان باشند به
احوال ایشان شده اگر عرضه (؟) خاطرشریف مشغول
بحاجت(؟) ایشان خواهد شد و سلام

302(306)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his Highness the *makhdūmzāda* Mīrzā Sulṭān-Aḥmad, did not intend to oppose that side [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā]. At this time, because of the unsettling news that has arrived from that side [Khurāsān], an alliance [*ittifāq*] [between the brothers] has come about. [But] after those coming [from Herat] arrived and brought his Majesty's letter, he [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] understood that there was no [threatening] news from that side. He [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] resolved that he should advise his brother [Sulṭān-Maḥmūd], after [their] meeting, [and that] afterwards a treaty should be made which would not be subject to change or alteration. Because of this, the bearer of this letter was sent. [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] detained his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī. After they have met and established the path of peace with his brother, they will send his honor [the *sayyid*] [to you]. Some of my people may also accompany the Mīrzā [to his brother]. After an arrangement has been reached, whatever the royal directive [*ishārat-i aᶜlā*] may be, [we] shall carry it out to the extent of [our] capabilities. Peace and respect![92]

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[92] References to Khwāja Aḥrār's discussion with Sulṭān-Aḥmad and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd may also be found in the letters of Khwāja ᶜAlī, no. 386(392) and Mawlānā Qāsim, no. 389(395). The descriptions of the incidents that occurred in connection with the peace negotiations appear to concur. In his letter, Khwāja ᶜAlī mentions the name of Mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Karīm as the representative whom Khwāja Aḥrār sent to meet with Sulṭān-Maḥmūd.

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302(306)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه چونکه خدمت مخدوم زاده میرزا سلطان احمد را در خاطر نبود که از جانب ایشان تعرضی واقع شود بآن جانب درین وقت بضرورت اخبار پریشان که از آنجانب رسیده بود صورت اتفاقی واقع شده بود بعد آنکه آیندگان آمده خط آن حضرت را آوردند دانستند که خبری از آنجانب نبوده است برین شدند که برادر خود را بعد ملاقات نصیحت کنند بعد آن عهدی چنان واقع شود که تبدیلی و تغیری واقع نشود ازین جهت دارنده رقعه نیازرا فرستاده شد خدمت مرتضی اعظم را باز داشتند بعد آنکه ملاقات کنند طریقه صلح را با برادر خود مقرر کنند خدمت ایشانرا روانه کنند از کسان این فقیر نیز همراه میرزا شاید که کسی رود بعد آنکه بر امری قراری گیرد بهر چه اشارت عالی شود بقدر وسع اهتمام کرده شود والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

303(307)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of this letter has the full hope that his Majesty [the Sulṭān], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[93] may make his [the bearer's] fault the mirror of his forgiveness [*mir'at-i ᶜafu*]. It is requested that your honor will show favor to him and bring it to his [the Sulṭān's] noble mind to grant his request. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

[93] The *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

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303(307)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز امیدی تمام دارد که آن حضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته] جریمه اورا مرآة عفو خود خواهند گردانید التماس آنکه خدمت شما عنایت بنسبت او ارزانی داشته بر خاطر شریف آرند که ملتمس او برايد والسلام

304(308)

After the statement of supplication, the petition is this: insofar as [our] conviction regarding his eminence[94] is that [he] should expend all [his] resolve to ensure that mingling with kings becomes the means of such felicity as [could] only be surpassed by expending all he has in gaining the satisfaction of the holy [Prophet] Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), [then] especially at this time when the suffering of the Muslims has increased, if at such a time the people of resolve expend [their] resolve so that the Sharīᶜa is put into effect [and] the customs of strangers [*rusūm-i bīgānegān*] are overthrow, [then] … [95]

304(308)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه چونکه عقیده بنسبت آن جناب آنست که همگی همت مصروف برآن دارند که آمیزش به پادشاهان وسیله یافت سعادتی گردد که فوق آن جز به آنکه همگی خود را دریافت رضاء حضرت محمد رسول الله صلی

[94] "His eminence" (*ān janāb*) refers to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. This is based on a comparison of the present letter with other letters in the album regarding Navā'ī's titulature and the performance of his service at the Herat court of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. See letter nos. 306(310) and 538(544) of Khwāja Aḥrār and letter no. 64(69) of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī; for the latter, see *Pis'ma-avtografy*, 52-53, fol. 24.

[95] The remainder of the letter is missing.

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الله علیه و علی آله و سلم بذل کنند نیست خصوصا در چنین
وقتی که محنت مسلمین بسیار شده است اگر در چنین وقت
ارباب همت همت را درآن صرف کنند که شریعت را ظهوری
شود رسوم بیگانگان برافتد ...[96]

الفقیر عبیدالله

305(309)

After the statement of supplication, the petition is that: insofar as victory cannot be imagined except through the Almighty, the victory of his Majesty, (exalted be his name), in contrast to the victory of his servants [*bandegān*], belongs only to the Sharīᶜa. In accordance with the noble passage [of the Qur'ān],"If you help God, He will help you,"[97] it has always been the wish and desire of this *faqīr* that his Majesty may be engaged in the strengthening of the Sharīᶜa of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of God. Although the signs of his Majesty's success are increasing over time, the request of this helpless one is that, purely for God's sake, he [the Sulṭān] may expend all his resolve to receive increasing success from the Almighty in annulling the strange and evil customs of the people of desire [*rusūm-i muḥdatha-i munkara-yi ahl-i havā*] so that the Muslims may find tranquility, the darkness of the people of desire may be reduced, and the lights of the Sharīᶜa, [according to the *āyat*], "Light upon light, God guides to His light whom He will,"[98] may appear in such a way that the fetters of desire may be sent to oblivion [*ᶜadam-ābād*]. Although the signs and the propagation of the faith of the Prophet Muḥammad [are] apparent and clear in the rule [*salṭanat*] of his Majesty, not one moment of rest must be taken from demanding its increase, because the tranquility of the Muslims is in the good fortune of his Majesty. Although my requests from his Majesty are

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[96] The remainder of the letter is missing.

[97] Qur'ān, 47:7.

[98] Qur'ān, 24:35.

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many, the summary of all of them is that the acquisition of spiritual virtues [*iktisāb-i faẓā'il-i maᶜnavīya*], which is linked to following the beloved of the first and the last [the Prophet Muḥammad], (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), should not be neglected for the sake of the worldly interests [*maṣāliḥ-i ṣūriya*] established by the people of desire.

If I open this to discussion
Questions and answers will become lengthy.
The taste of the impression [*naqsh*] of love [of God] departs from me
And the engraving of service [*naqsh-i khidmat*] [to God] becomes the engraving [*naqsh*] of another kind.[99]

Peace and respect!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

305(309)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه چونکه نصرت جز از حق سبحانه متصور نیست نصرت آن حضرت جل ذکره در مقابله نصرت بندگان مر شریعت را واقع شده بموجب [آیه] کریمه ان تنصروا الله ینصرکم همیشه از حق سبحانه خواست و بایست این فقیر آنست که آن حضرت را به تائید شریعت محمد رسول الله مشغول گردانیده منصور گرداند اگر چه آثار نصرت آن حضرت بحسب الزمان و اوقات در تزاید است التماس این درمانده آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه همگی همت مصروف برآن باشد که زیادتی نصرت از حق سبحانه یابند برفض رسوم محدثه منکره اهل هوا تا مسلمین رفاهیت یابند ظلمت اهل هوا کم شده انوار

[99] This *bayt* is repeated in letter no. 20 in which Khwāja Aḥrār similarly addresses the theme of upholding the Sharīᶜa and conquering the evil souls.

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شریعت نور علی نور یهدی الله لنوره من یشاء چنان ظاهر شود
که قیود هوا رخت بعدم آباد برند بر جبین سلطنت آن حضرت
آثار ترویج دین محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم
اگر چه ظاهر و پیداست باید که لحظه از طلب زیادتی فراغتی
نشود چه راحت مسلمین در دولتمندی آنحضرت است اگر چه
ملتمس این فقیر از آن حضرت بسیار است خلاصه همه آنست که
برای مصالح صوریه که ارباب هوا احداث کرده اند اکتساب
فضایل معنویه که باز بسته بمتابعت حبیب اولین و آخرین است
علیه من الصلواة اتمها و من التحیات ایمنها فوت نشود

گر گشایم بحث این را من بساز　　تا سوال تا جواب آید دراز
ذوق نکته عشق از من میرود　　نقش خدمت نقش دیگر میشود

والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

306(310)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the request from your honor is this: when you occasionally present yourself to his honor, Mawlānā ᶜAlī Shīr, remind his noble mind of this *faqīr* and request that, purely for the sake of the Almighty, he should not have anxiety or any thoughts about carrying out what must be carried out before his Royal Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[100] because the benefit of carrying out what is in the

[100] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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interest of the Muslims is the true good of the two worlds for his honor [ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī].[101] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

306(310)

بعد از رفع نیازمرفوع آنکه التماس از خدمت شما آنست که گاهی خود را بشرف ملازمت خدمت مولانا علی شیر رسانیده این فقیر را بخاطر شریف ایشان با یاد آورده التماس کنند که خالصا لوجهه سبحانه هیچ دغدغه و فکری نکنند در رسانیدن آنچه می باید رسانند پیش حضرت سلطنت شعاری [خلد ظلال عاطفته] چه فایده رسانیدن آنچه خیر مسلمین است بحقیقت خیر دارین آنحضرت است والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

307(311a,b)[102]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that for some time the honorable bearer of the petition gave this *faqīr* the honor of his servitude and was engaged in acquiring knowledge of religious sciences [*fażā'il-i ᶜilmīya*] in the madrasa under [the guidance of]

[101] This letter is addressed to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. This is confirmed by Jāmī's letter, no. 64(69), in which he makes a similar request to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. Also see Khwāja Aḥrār's letter, no. 538(544), which is addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī himself, and in which Khwāja Aḥrār encourages Navā'ī to remain at the Herat court. These letters concern the troublesome period for Navā'ī that led to his departure from the court and his appointment by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to the position of governor of the province of Astarabad. For a discussion of Navā'ī's difficulties in the context of the politics of reform under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform and its Opponents," 123-151; also see HS, vol. 4, 184.

[102] The letter is divided into two sections on the bottom of folio 22a.

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Mawlānā ᶜAlī; and he has gained many kinds of knowledge.[103] At this time he is heading to that side [Khurāsān]. I trust that he will be honored by [your] noble mind. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

307(311a,b)

بعد از رفع نیازمرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز چندگاه این فقیر را بشرف خدمتکاری خود مشرف گردانیده در مدرسه پیش خدمت مولانا علی بتحصیل فضایل علمیه مشغول بوده به انواع فضایل متصف شدند درین وقت متوجه به آن جانب شده اند یقین که به التفات خاطر شریف سرافراز خواهند شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

308(312)

[We] hope from the infinite kindness of the Almighty that He may subject all friends to the pain of separation from the continuous apprehension of His Glorious Self [*janāb-i khūd*] so no room will be left in them for anything [else], in order that they achieve salvation from that which bears the mark of temporal origination [*simat-i hudūth*].[104] This *faqīr* has become old with this yearning. There is no more strength and forbearance left [in me]. May He [God] honor all friends with life that is precious.[105] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

---

[103] Mawlānā ᶜAlī is apparently one of the teachers at the Samarqand madrasa, but not the famous mathematician, ᶜAlī Qushchī, who left Samarqand in 1470.

[104] The beginning of the letter is missing.

[105] The phrase, *be-ᶜamr nā-yāft*, literally "with rare life," is translated here loosely as "with life that is precious."

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308(312)

امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه همه دوستان را چنان گرفتار درد دوری از دوام آگاهی بجانب خود گرداند که هیچ چیزرا گنجایی در ایشان نماند تا نجاتی از گرفتاری به آنچه سمت حدوث دا رد میسر شود این فقیر به این تمنا پیر شدم مجال و طاقت هیچ نماند باشد که همه دوستان را بعمر نایافت مشرف گرداند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

309(313)

Insofar as the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication was setting out [to you] for the same purpose, namely to mention [himself] to the noble minds of the servitors, I am being so bold as to request that, purely for God's sake, [his] noble mind be directed [to ensure] that the Muslims of this side and that side, through the friendship that may be achieved between [the] rulers, not suffer. Although reports have come that would prevent the presentation of such words and such requests, the likes of us *faqīrs* should have nothing else but this request. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

309(313)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه مرفوع آنکه چونکه خدمت دا رنده رقعه نیاز متوجه بودند از برای همین معنی که خود را به خواطر شریف ملازمان با یاد آرد گستاخی کرده التماس میکنم که خالصا لوجهه سبحانه خاطر شریف ملتفت به آن باشد که مسلمین این

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جانب و آن جانب بسبب دوستی که در میان پادشاهان میسر شود
زحمت نکشند اگر چه خبرها واقع است که عرض این نوع
سخنان و التماس این صورت دور مینماید لیکن امثال ما
فقیران را غیر این التماس باید که چیز دیگر نباشد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

310(314)

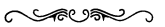
After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* to the servitors of his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[106] is that the *mawlānāzāda* has set off to kiss the threshold [of his Majesty's court] in the hope of his Majesty's favor. I trust that he will attain his goal. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

310(314)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر پیش ملازمان آن حضرت
[خلد ظلال عواطفه] آنکه مولانا زاده به امید عنایت آن حضرت
متوجه عتبه بوسی شده است یقین آنست که بمراد خواهد رسید
والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



311(315)

After the statement of supplication [it is reported] that the bearer of this letter of supplication is a person of noble birth. He has set out to

[106] The *duᶜā* is written on the top margin.

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kiss the threshold for the sake of [his] affairs [*muhimm*]. He has some private property [*milkī-i chand*] on that side [Khurāsān]. His father has been engaged in lawful business [*muᶜāmala-i sharᶜī*] with people. His request is that through the grace of the servitors [of the court] his affairs will be settled in a good manner. I trust that the servitors will direct their noble mind to his affairs. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

311(315)

بعد از رفع نیاز خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز مردم اصیلند برای مهمی
متوجه بعتبه بوسی شده اند ملکی چند در آن جانب دارند والد
ایشانرا با مردم معامله شرعی بوده است التماس ایشان آنست که
به التفات ملازمان مهمات ایشان بر نهج خیر سرانجام خواهد شد
یقین که ملازمان خاطر شریف ملتفت بمهمات ایشان گردانند
والسلام
الفقیر عبیدالله

312(316)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that although a few things have happened that have brought suspicions to the minds of the servitors of his Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[107] the servitors of his Highness the *makhdūmzāda* [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] have a valid explanation for each one, which the bearers of this [letter of] petition will bring to the attention of the servitors of his Majesty.

I trust that it will become known to the servitors that the assistance that appeared in the form of assistance was not of the kind that in

[107] The *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

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reality could be called assistance.[108] The necessity causing that was so it would be said that good had been done. However, the truth of friendship is another thing. They say no opposition will materialize from this side; they say that they are agreed that good communications will be maintained, so that everyone will know that there is nothing but purity in friendship. This *faqīr* is also hopeful that such affection shall be established between kinsmen [*khvishān*] that results in the destruction of the strangers [*bīgānegān*], because the powerful strangers [*bīgānegān-i qavī*] have come closer. If friendship is not strengthened, where will things lead, and what will happen? May the Almighty bind all to all so the enemies may be dispersed.

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

312(316)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه اگرچه چیزی چند واقع شد که
ملازمان آن حضرت را [خلد ظلال عاطفته] چیزی بخاطر آمده
است هریك را عذری ملازمان حضرت مخدوم زاده دارند که
بعرض ملازمان آن حضرت دارنده گان رقعه نیاز خواهند رسانید
یقین که معلوم ملازمان خواهد بود که از مددی که صورتا گمان
مدد می شد چنان نبود که بحقیقت مدد توان گفت بحسب
ضرورتی که باعث برآن بوده است می گویند خیری واقع شد
لیکن حقیقت دوستی دیگر شده است میگویند بهیچ وجه ازین
جانب چیزی که مخالف است واقع نخواهد شد می گویند برین
هستند که چنان شود که آمد و رفت نیکو واقع شود تا همه دانند
که جز اخلاص در دوستی هیچ نیست این فقیر نیز امیدوارم که

[108] This letter, as letter no. 58(61,63), may concern Sulṭān-Aḥmad's disobedience to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā when he provided help in 1471-72 to Aḥmad Mushtāq, the *ḥākim* of Balkh. HS, vol. 4, 166-67; HS Thackston, 436-437.

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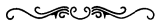
درمیان خویشان چنان محبتی شود که سبب نیست شدن بیگانگان
گردد که بیگانگان قوی نزدیك شده اند اگر دوستی محکم نشود
تا کار بکجا رسد و چه شود باشد که حق سبحانه همه را
پیوستگی با همه دهد اعداء متفرق شوند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



313(317)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that because this land has been in turbulence, I gave some sheep and horses of mine to the bearers of this letter and sent them to that side, so that they may sell them on that side of the river [Amū Daryā]. The request to the servitors of his Majesty [the Sulṭān], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[109] is that they [the servitors] should take them [the bearers] under their protection [*dar ḥimāyat-i khūd*] and that the noble minds should be directed so this group may suffer no harm on that side and [can] sell what they have and return as soon as [possible].[110] I trust that the request will be granted by the true absolute grace [of the servitors]. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

313(317)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه بسبب آنکه این ولایت مشوش بود
این فقیر چند گوسفند و اسبی که داشتم بدارندگان رقعه نیاز
تسلیم کرده به آن طرف فرستادم که آن طرف آب فروشند التماس

---

[109] The *duᶜā* is written in the upper right margin.

[110] For a discussion of the concept of *ḥimāyat* in the context of Khwāja Aḥrār's "faction," see Jürgen Paul, "Forming a Faction: The *Ḥimāyat* System of Khwaja Ahrar," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23(1991):533-547. See also his *Die politische*, 198-207.

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از ملازمان آنحضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته] آنکه ایشانرا در
حمایت خود داشته خواطر شریفه ملتفت بآن دارند که این
جماعت دران جانب زحمت نکشند آنچه دارند بفروخت رود
زودتر مراجعت کنند یقین آنست که ملتمس بمحض کرم مبذول
خواهد بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

314(318)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his Highness the *makhdūmzāda* [Sultan Aḥmad] sent the bearer of the letter to the service [of the court]. He will convey to the servitors of his Majesty, (May the shadows of his favor be perpetuated),[111] what he [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] has said. What has been heard from him is only that [he is] acting [to ensure] that nothing may happen, in any way, without consent from him and from the servitors.

The request of this *faqīr* from his Majesty [the Sulṭān] is that with the help and mutual support of his Majesty, the enemies of religion and the community [*aʿdā'-yi dīn va millat*], who are exerting great effort to corrupt the affairs of the Muslims and destroy all the Muslims, will be repelled and defeated. What shall be the gratitude for the blessing of kingship but this, that the infidel and iniquitous Qalmāqs [*kafara va fajara-yi qalmāq*],[112] and others [of this kind], should be put to flight through the efforts of the rulers of Islam, and that the rites of Islam should be strengthened in such a way that the tongues of all Muslims will automatically speak the praises of the *sulṭāns*. May they be under God's protection. Peace![113]

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

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[111] The *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[112] The term *kufara* is mentioned in several letters of Khwāja Aḥrār, incuding nos. 282(286), 317, 494(500). The mention of the term Qalmāq appears only in this letter.

[113] The closing *duʿā* is located beneath letter no. 319(323) on folio 23a and is incorrectly numbered 321 as a separate fragment.

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314(318)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت مخدوم زاده دارنده رقعه نیازرا بملازمت فرستاده اند آنچه گفته اند بعرض خدام آنحضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته][114] خواهد رسانید آنچه از ایشان معلوم شده است جز آن نیست که چنان کنند که بهیچ وجه چیزی غیر موافقت از ایشان و خدام صادر نشود التماس این فقیر از آن حضرت آنست که بمدد و تعاون آنحضرت اعداء دین و ملت که همت در افساد احوال مسلمین و خرابی تمام مسلمانان اهتمام قوی می کنند منکول و مخذول گردند شکر نعمت سلطنت جز این چه خواهد بود که کفره و فجره قلماق و غیر ایشان باهتمام پادشاهان اسلام منهزم شوند و شعایر اسلام را قوتی چنان شود که زبان همه مسلمانان بمحمدت سلاطین بی اختیار گویا شود [در امان حق باشند والسلام][115]

315(319)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the family [*mutāᶜalliqān*] of Amīr Yār-Muḥammad have beseeched this *faqīr* asking: "Request from his Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all Muslims),[116] that, out of [his] pure mercy, he send Amīr Yār-Muḥammad to us poor ones [*faqīrs*]." The request is that the *amīr* be sent in order to free this *faqīr* from this group, so that the Almighty may, out of pure

[114] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[115] The closing *duᶜā* is located beneath letter no. 319(323) on folio 23a and is incorrectly numbered 321 as a separate fragment.

[116] The *duᶜā* is written in the upper right margin.

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favor, ennoble your sovereign affairs [*maṣālih-i mulkī*], which include the worldly and spiritual affairs of the Muslims, with a perfection than which no greater can be imagined.

I trust that in this transaction [*muʿāmala*], you will overlook your own aim in favor of seeking the satisfaction of the Almighty and you will have the honor of material and spiritual, worldly and other-worldly happiness. "When you have passed over your own desire, all is joy and bliss;" "Whoever is for God, God is for him;" "Become nothing, and your existence [*hastīyat*] shall arrive from beyond." Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

315(319)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه متعلقان امیریار محمد این فقیررا گرفتار خود گردانیده درخواست میکنند که ازآنحضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین] التماس کن که امیر یار محمد را بمحض مرحمت پیش ما فقیران فرستند التماس آنکه از برای خلاصی این فقیر ازین جماعت امیررا فرستاده شود که مصالح ملکی شما که مصلحت صوری و معنوی مسلمین را متضمن است حق سبحانه بمحض عنایت بکمالی مشرف گرداند که فوق آن متصور نباشد یقین آنست که در معامله آنکه از مراد خود گذشته برضا جویی حق سبحانه برپای شده اید بسعادت صوری و معنوی دنیاوی و اخروی مشرف خواهید شد از خود چو گذشتی همه عیش است و خوشی من کان لله کان الله له نیست شو تا هستیت از پی رسد والسلام

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316(320)

After the statement of supplication, insofar as the honorable bearer of the letter, was heading to that side [Khurāsān], I wanted to bring myself to the memory of your noble mind. The request is that if the bearer of the letter turns to the servitors for [his] affairs, the noble minds of the servitors will attend to his affairs. I trust that his request will be granted. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

316(320)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه چونکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز
متوجه بآنجا نب بود خواستم که خودرا بخاطر شریف یاد آرم
التماس آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز اگر بمهمی رجوع بملازمان کند
خواطر شریفه ملازمان ملتفت بمهم او باشد یقین که ملتمس
مبذول خواهد بود و السلام

317[117]

My friend, the time has come for the kings who are relatives of one another to make raids [*ghazāt*] against the infidels [*kafara*][118] and help one another so that the spiritual essence [*ruḥāniyat*] of [the Prophet] Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), will become boundlessly satisfied and honor them with [his] infinite support. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

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[117] The number "317" has been assigned by Asom Urunbaev. There is no number assigned for the letter in the manuscript.

[118] The *kafara* may be the "unfaithful Qalmaqs" of letter no. 314(318).

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317

یاری وقت آن شده است که پادشاهان که خویش همدیگراند غزات بکفره بکنند همدیگررا مدد شوند تا روحانیت حضرت محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم بیحد راضی شده به امداد بی نهایت مشرف گردانند والسلام

318(322)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that at the time when this *faqir* had gone to Tashkent, the bearer of the letter had arrived there and stated his business, requesting a recommendation on behalf of his honor, Amīr Valī-Beg. I was so bold as to write something. After [the bearer of this letter] arrived there [in Herat], his enemies made it appear as though he had gone to his Highness Mīrza Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. There [in Herat] the servitor, because of that, experienced trouble. They [enemies] have presented it contrary to reality. He [the bearer of the letter] did not see Mīrza Sulṭān-Maḥmūd in Ḥiṣār, nor did he go to Ḥiṣār. He saw me in Tashkent and received his letter there. There are many witnesses to this.[119]

The request is that, purely for God's sake, [and] through the kindness of the noble minds of the servitors, no harm may come to him because they have presented [the situation] contrary to reality. I trust that by the grace of [your] noble mind, he will be able to stay in that region [Herat], safe from his enemies. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

318(322)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه در زمانی که این فقیر بتاشکند رفته بودم دارنده رقعه نیاز آنجا آمده مهم خود گفته سپارش بخدمت

[119] One of the trips Khwāja Aḥrār made to Tashkent was in July, 1479 when he met with ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. See Jāmī's letter no. 116(121), *Pis'ma-avtografy*, 67; 136; fol. 40.

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امیر ولی بیك طلبیده بود این فقیر گستاخی کرده چیزی نوشته
بودم بعد آنکه آنجا رسیده است خصوم او چنان نموده اند که او
بملازمت خدمت میرزا سلطان محمود رفته است آنجا ملازم
بسبب آن [که] به او زحمتی رسیده است خلاف واقع نموده اند
او میرزا سلطان محمود را در حصار ندیده و بحصار نرفته است
و این فقیررا در تاشکند دید خطی گرفت جمع کثیررا گواهی
برین صورت هست التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه به التفات
خواطر شریفه ملازمان اورا ازین جهت زحمتی نرسد که خلاف
واقع نموده اند یقین که به التفات خاطر شریف از خصوم ایمن
شده در آن ولایت می تواند بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

319(323)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that inasmuch as the integrity and rectitude of the bearer of this letter has become known to this *faqīr*, and his utterly complete trustworthiness and sincerity with respect to the servitors of his Majesty has become manifest, I spoke with him about a few requests that I have from his Majesty and asked that he bring the request of this *faqīr* to the attention of his Majesty [the Sulṭān]. The request is that, purely for the sake of God, may he [the Sulṭān] find the holy Prophet Muḥammad, (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), and do everything to ensure that what is necessary and proper for worldly and spiritual fortune [*dawlat-i ṣūrī va maᶜnavī*] may find full acceptance with respect to your honor.

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

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319(323)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه چونکه صلاح و سداد خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز پیش این فقیر معلوم شد صدق و اخلاص ایشان در غایت کمال بنسبت ملازمان آن حضرت ظاهر بود التماسی چند که این فقیر را از آن حضرت بود به ایشان گفته التماس کرده ام که ملتمس این فقیر را بعرض آن حضرت رسانند التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه ملتمس این فقیر بشرف قبول مشرف شود تا بنقد حضرت محمد رسول الله را صلی الله علیه وعلی آله و سلم ممد و معین خود یافته همه آن کنند که باید و شاید دولت صوری و معنوی را اقبال کلی بنسبت خدمت شما واقع شود

الفقیر عبیدالله

320(324)

After the statement of supplication, the honorable bearer of this letter is setting out to kiss the threshold [of the court].[120] The petition is that, purely for God's sake, and for closeness [*taqarrub*] to the family of the Prophet Muḥammad [*ahl-i bayt*], (May the blessing of God be upon them), that your noble mind be directed toward honoring and respecting him. I trust that this request will be ennobled with the honor of acceptance. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[120] The bearer of this letter may be the same *Murtaża-yi Aᶜẓam* of letter no. 322(326).

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320(324)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز متوجه عتبه
بوسی شده اند التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه و از برای
تقرب به اهل بیت نبوت رضوان الله علیهم خاطر شریف ملتفت
برعایت و عنایت ایشان باشد یقین که ملتمس بشرف قبول
مشرف خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

321(325)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that this *faqīr* used to have the duty of always requesting from his Majesty, the martyred Sulṭān [Abū Saᶜīd],[121] [saying], "In the time of your rule, you should make the greatest effort in honoring the people of learning [*arbāb-i dānish*], whom God, through His pure unblemished favor, has ennobled as [the] manifestations of the lights of knowledge - which are reflections of the infinite splendor of God." Now also, committing even greater impropriety, I request that, for the sake of the spread of knowledge [*ᶜilm*] and the *Sharīᶜa*, that your excellency show great care [*nigāh-dāsht*][122] for the saints [*azīzes*], who are the manifestations of [such] lights. Although this *faqīr* does not have the authority [to request this], your excellency has [already] given twice as much as is required to that group which is the recipient of [divine] favor. Nonetheless, I am requesting that, purely for God's sake, all of the saints whom the Almighty has honored with the light of knowledge may be accorded respect and honor. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[121] Khwāja Aḥrār uses Abū Saᶜīd's posthumous title, *Ḥażrat-i Sulṭān Shahīd*.

[122] The *nigah-dasht* could mean material support for the *azīzes*.

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321(325)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه این فقیر را وظیفه آن می بود که همیشه از حضرت سلطان شهید التماس میکردم که در زمان سلطنت شما ارباب دانش که حق سبحانه بمحض عنایت بی علت مظاهر انوار دانش که عکوس تجلیات بی نهایت حق سبحانه اند مشرف شده اند به اقصی وجوه در احترام ایشان کوشید حالا نیز بی ادبی بیشتر کرده التماس میکنم که نگاهداشت جانب عزیزانی که مظاهرانوارند از برای ترویج علم وشریعت از خدمت شما بسیار باشد اگرچه این فقیر را حد آن نیست خدمت شما یقین که آنچه باید بتقدیم به اضعاف به آنجماعت که محل عنایتند رسانیده اید با این همه التماس میکنم که خالصا لوجهه سبحانه تمامی عزیزانی که حق سبحانه ایشانرا مشرف به انوار دانش گردانیده محترم و مکرم باشند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

322(326)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī, set out from this *vilāyat* to kiss the threshold [of the court of Herat]. It was agreed that he would return here [to Samarqand]. Inasmuch as he was honored with [his excellency's] endless favors, he has remained there. The request is that, as an additional kindness, through [your] pure favor and for the sake of obtaining assistance from the holy spirits of the *ahl-i bayt* [*arvāḥ-i muqaddasa-yi ahl-i bayt*], (May the blessing of God be upon them), he may be treated kindly [by you]. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

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322(326)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت مرتضی اعظم بعتبه
بوسی متوجه شده ازین ولایت رفتند مقرر آن بود که اینجا بیایند
چونکه بالطاف بی نهایت مشرف شدند آنجا ماندند التماس آنکه
بمزید الطاف بمحض عنایت و از برای دریافت مدد از ارواح
مقدسه اهل بیت رضوان الله علیهم اجمعین ایشانرا نوازش
فرموده شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

323(326)

He who humbles himself, God elevates him.
He who is for God, God is for him.

After the presentation of supplication, the petition is this: the request of this *faqīr* is that, that, purely for God's sake, the blessing of sovereignty [*salṭanat*], which the Almighty bestowed out of His pure abundance of grace, and which is the best and strongest means of achieving the happiness of the two worlds, may be spent on that which brings the satisfaction of the God - that is, by exerting effort to ensure that the entire resolve of your Majesty, (May the shadows of your kindness be perpetuated),[123] should be expended upon spreading the Sharīᶜa of the Prophet Muḥammad, (May the blessings of God be upon him), so that all may be light, and no darkness will have the power to withstand the light.

At this time when the enemies of the lives and faith [*jān va īmān*] of the Muslims have come close and are committing destruction, no worshipping is more complete and necessary for the kings, after the performance of *namāz,* than the engagement in the repulse of these

[123] This *duᶜā* is located at the top right margin of the letter.

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oppressive man-eating [people] [*īn ẓālimān-i ādamī khwār*].[124] Therefore, I am requesting that your Majesty and all the princes [*makhdūmzādas*], and indeed all Muslims, set aside all other affairs and engage in warding off these oppressors. I am confident that if your Majesty would do all the things that you have taken upon yourself [to do] on that side [Khurāsān] and also render help to the *makhdūmzāda* [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] so that some dignity [*shukohī*] may come to his Highness, the other *makhdūmzādas* would also cooperate. With the grace of God, the warding off and cutting down of these ill-intentioned ones will soon be attained. Or perhaps if it is not done, it shall be no surprise … [125] [The interest of] the great family (*khāndān-i buzurg*) of your Majesty is also in this so that … [peace may be established] between the kinsmen … [126]

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

323(326)

من تواضع رفعه الله من كان لله كان الله له

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه ملتمس این فقیر آنکه خالصا
لوجهه سبحانه نعمت سلطنت که حق سبحانه بمحض فضل
عنایت فرموده است و نیکوتر و قویترین سببی است نیل یافت
سعادت دارین را مصروف درآن شود که رضا حق سبحانه در آن
باشد یعنی بهمگی وجوه اهتمام در آن کردن که همگی همت
حضرت شما [خلد ظلال عاطفته] در ترویج شریعت محمد
رسول الله علیه من التحیات ایمنها و من الصلوات اتمها مصروف
شود تا همه نور شوند هیچ ظلمتی را طاقت مقاومت با نور نماند

---

[124] Khwāja Aḥrār is using the term *adami-khwār* metaphorically to refer to those "enemies" of the Timurids who act in un-Islamic ways (that is, as cannibals); he is most likely referring to the Uzbeks and the Chaghatayids in Eastern Turkistān.

[125] One word is unclear.

[126] The "great family" is that of the Timurids. The end of the letter is missing.

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درین وقت که دشمنان جان و ایمان مسلمانان نزدیك رسیده خرابی می کنند هیچ عبادتی تمامتر و بایسته تر از پادشاهان بعد ادای نماز مشغولی بدفع این ظالمان آدمی خوار بعد دانسته نمیشود ازین جهت التماس می کنم که حضرت شما و تمام مخدوم زادگان بلکه تمام مسلمین همه کاررا گذارند و بدفع اینچنین ظالمان مشغول شوند اعتقاد آنست که اگر حضرت شما همه کاررا که درآن طرف برخود گرفته مدد مخدوم زاده بر وجهی کنند که ایشانرا شکوهی باشد مخدوم زادگان دیگر نیز موافقت کنند بعنایت الهی دفع و قمع این شومان زودتر میسر شود و اگر چنین نشود عجب می نماید ...[127] خاندان بزرگ حضرت شما نیز درین است که با خویشان...[128]

الفقیر عبیدالله

324(328)

The petition of this *faqīr*[129] is that some here [in Samarqand] have heard several reports from those arriving [from Khurāsān]. Probably they are not true. And if they are true, I greatly fear where the results of this business may lead. When I was in Herat, I used to see, from people with connections to [high] places,[130] certain improper deeds [*umūr-i ghayr-mustaqīm*], which had nothing to do with this [religious] community [*bedīn millat*], but rather were causing the ruin of the religion and the community.[131] So long as one holds fast to the strong

[127] One word unclear.

[128] The end is missing.

[129] The formulaic beginning is absent.

[130] Khwāja Aḥrār is referring here to connections to the court.

[131] Khwāja Aḥrār spent five years in Herat between 1428-1432 during the rule of

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bond of the Sunnī school [*madhhab-i sunnat va jamāᶜat*], which has been preferred by all the past generations of saints and scholars [*mukhtār-i salaf az awlīyā' va ᶜulamā*] one cannot hold firm to something else; what will be the state of those who hold firm [to something else]? The bearer of the letter wishes to bring what has been heard to your attention.

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

324(328)

عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه خبری چند اینجا از آیندگان مسموع
بعضی شده است غالب آنست که واقع نخواهند بود اگر واقع
باشد قوی می ترسم که عاقبت کار بکجا این فقیر درآن وقتی که

Shāh Rukh. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 401-02; *Masmūᶜat*, fol. 89a. The designation of Khwāja Isḥāq Khuttalānī as *mahdī* led Shāh Rukh in 816/1423 to send a military contingent to put down what he evidently viewed as a political threat, which resulted in the death of Khwāja Isḥāq and the capture of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. Nūrbakhsh was later released, but in 1436 he was forced to publicly disclaim any status of *mahdī* or caliph. Although one can only speculate, it is also possible that the "unrighteous" deeds were also connected with Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh's son and principle heir, Shāh Qāsim Nūrbakhsh's (d. 1511) later visit to Herat (with the support of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn). For a full discussion of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, see Shahzad Bashir, "Between Mysticism and Messianism: The Life and Thought of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 1464)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1998). See also Devin DeWeese, "The Eclipse of the Kubravīyah," 55-56. Other controversial incidents that occurred during the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā include the recitation of the names of the twelve *imāms* in the *khuṭba* upon his accession and the rediscovery of the ᶜAlīd tomb in Khwāja Khayrān in 1480-81 (in the vicinity of Balkh). On the rediscovery of the purported tomb of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, see Robert McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, 31-36. On the recitation of the names of the twelve *imāms* in the *khuṭba*, see HS, vol. 4, 136; HS Thackston, 421; *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, 148-49. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of sectarian issues and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's involvement in them. It would seem, therefore, that such "unsound acts" may refer to the presence of heterodox ideas, particularly quasi-Shiᶜite Sufi influences, and their appeal to courtiers. In the *Masmūᶜāt*, ᶜAbd al-Avval relates a story involving Khwāja Aḥrār's visit to a certain Sayyid Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, who is identified as a *murīd* of Shaykh Isḥāq Khuttalānī. The story is interesting for two reasons. First, Khwāja Aḥrār asks whether Sayyid Muḥammad Qā'īnī (Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh) is in fact the *mahdī* (to which he responds that it is not clear, but that the concept is current in the *jamāᶜat* of Shaykh Isḥāq). Second, because Khwāja Aḥrār identifies himself as a "Turkistānī" (*Masmūᶜāt*, MS India Office D.P. 890, fols. 180b-182a; Istanbul edition (1996), 142-143). I am grateful to Devin DeWeese for this reference.

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در هری می بودم از مردمی که انتسابی بجایی داشتند یعنی امور غیر مستقیمه که بدین ملت کاری نداشت بلکه سبب انهدام دین و ملت می شد معاینه میکردم با وجود تمسك بحبل متین مذهب سنت و جماعت که مختار تمام سلف از اولیا و علما است بجای دیگر تمسك نمی توان کردن متمسکانرا حال چه خواهد بود دارنده رقعه مسموع را خواهند بعرض رسانند

الفقیر عبیدالله

325(329)

After the statement of supplication, it is to be reported that the bearer of this letter, Mawlānā Muḥammad Aʿdādī(?) has set out to your honor ….[132]

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

325(329)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز مولانا محمد اعدادی؟[133] بجهت خدمت شما متوجه …

326(330)

… it will serve to find great happiness.[134] Therefore, the bearer of this letter of request was sent to kiss the threshold [of the court]. I

[132] The remaining portion of the letter is missing. It is not clear whether "Aʿdādī" is a *nisba,* or a reference to "numbers," which belongs with the missing words that follow. The remaining portion of the letter is missing.

[133] The remaining portion of the letter is missing.

[134] The beginning of the letter is missing.

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trust that in accordance with your resolve and with the request of this *faqīr,* that care will be taken [to accomplish this]. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

326(330)

...متضمن یافت سعادتی عظیم خواهد بود ازین جهت دارنده
رقعه نیازرا بشرف عتبه بوسی روانه کرده شد یقین که بموجب
همت خود و بر موجب التماس این فقیر اهتمامی چنانکه مناسب
است خواهد شد والسلام

327(331)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of this letter has been favored and honored with the privilege of performing the pilgrimage to the sacred House of God [*ziyārat-i Bayt Allāh*] [in Mecca]. He also has the right of proximity [*ḥaqq-i jivār*][135] to Khwāja Muḥammad Darvīsh, and service to the *faqīrs*.[136] The request from all Muslims is that [your] noble mind be given to his affairs in such a way that no suffering may come to him. I trust that the request will be granted to him. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh.

327(331)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز بشرف توجه و
زیارت بیت الله موفق و مشرف شده است حق جوار خواجه
محمد درویش و خدمت فقراء نیز دارد التماس از کافه مسلمین

---

[135] Although it is unclear based on the paucity of information, *ḥaqq-i jivār* may indicate the bearer's service at the shrine of a certain Khwāja Muḥammad Darvīsh.

[136] *Fuqarāᶜ* may refer to the poor or to the devishes.

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آنست که خواطر شریفه ملتفت بحال او چنان باشد که محنتی بر او نرسد یقین که ملتمس بنسبت او مبذول خواهد بود و السلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

328(332)

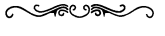
After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the household (*kūch*) of Jān Maḥmūd Qipchāq has remained there [in Khurāsān] [along] with his children. They remain separated from one another and ask that his Majesty show mercy [by] giving them leave [to return to Mawarannahr]. They have also made this *faqīr* an intermediary. The request is that [you] direct [your] noble mind so as to ensure that his Royal Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[137] may give them permission [to go]. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh.

328(332)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه کوچ جان محمود قبچاق بفرزندان آنجا مانده است از هم جدا مانده اند التماس میکنند که آنحضرت ترحم نموده ایشانرا اجازت فرمایند این فقیر را نیز وسیله می گردانند التماس آنکه خاطر شریف ملتفت بآن باشد که حضرت سلطنت شعاری [خلد ظلال عاطفته][138] ایشانرا اجازت فرمایند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



[137] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[138] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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329(333)

The bearer of this letter is a person of the household of this *faqīr*. He is a poor man. To make a living he sometimes carries something somewhere [to sell]. It is requested from the servitors of his Royal Majesty and the servitors of the great *amīrs* to arrange that no harm comes to him from anyone.

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh[139]

329(333)

دارنده رقعه نیاز از کسان متعلقان این فقیر است مردی فقیر است گاهی برای مصلحت معاش بجایی چیزی می برد التماس از ملازمان حضرت سلطنت شعاری و ملازمان امراء عظام آنکه چنان عنایت فرمایند از کسی بنسبت او محنتی نرسد

الفقیر عبیدالله

330(334)

After the statement of supplication, the petition is that the bearer of this letter has come from afar. He has taken upon himself a meritorious undertaking for the sake of releasing the Muslims [who] are imprisoned in China. For this reason, he has a request that he will present as a petition to your servitors. I trust that the noble minds of your servitors will be directed toward [ensuring] the success of his request. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

330(334)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز از جایی دور آمده است کار خیری برخود گرفته از برای تخلیص مسلمانانی

[139] In addition to the customary signature placed at the top right side of the folio, *al-faqīr, ᶜUbayd Allāh* is pasted sideways in the right margin of the letter; see fol. 24b.

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[که][140] در خطای گرفتارند از آنجهت التماس دارد که پیش
ملازمان عرضه داشت خواهد کرد یقین که خواطر شریفه
ملازمان به برامد ملتمس او ملتفت خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

331(336, 338)[141]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the honorable bearer of this letter, his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī, has business [*muhimmī*][142] which shall be taken care of through the grace of your honor.The request is that, purely for God's sake, your noble mind be directed to relieving his plight. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

331(336, 338)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز مرتضی
اعظم را چنان مهمی است که بعنایت خدمت شما متدارك
خواهد شد التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه خاطر شریف
ملتفت برفع اضطرار ایشان شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[140] Added for grammatical correctness.

[141] In the album the letter begins with no. 336 and continues in a fragment that is numbered "338".

[142] It is unclear whether the "business" of the *sayyid* refers to commerce, affairs of state, or personal matters.

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332(337a,b)

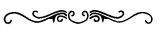
After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is this: it is clear to [your] informed, radiant mind that his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAli, Sayyid Qannād, was a friend of this *faqīr* for a long time. [Now] it has been heard that he has died [*be juvār-i raḥmat intiqāl farmūda and*].[143] The request is that his children be distinguished within the shadow of your protection and that they be treated with favor. I trust that the request will be ennobled with the honor of acceptance.[144] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

332(337a,b)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه بر ضمیر منیر خبیر
روشن است که خدمت مرتضی اعظم سید قناد را از دیرگاه
بنسبت این فقیر دوستی بود شنیده شد که بجوار رحمت انتقال
فرموده اند التماس آنکه فرزندان ایشانرا در ظل حمایت خود
مخصوص داشته طریقه عنایت بنسبت ایشان ارزانی فرموده
شود[145] یقین که ملتمس بشرف قبول مشرف خواهد بود و السلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



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[143] This phrase literally reads, "he has moved under the protection of Mercy [God]." In letter no. 535(541), Khwāja Aḥrār reports that Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād was his guest in Samarqand. He writes to request that Qannād's children be exempted from the *raᶜiyatī* tax. In a postscript to letter no. 585(591), Khwāja ᶜAlī reminds the addressee (ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī) of letter no. 535(541), and restates that Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād is a guest.

[144] This sentence is located in a fragment that is pasted sideways on the left margin of letter no. 334, which is numbered 337b in the original.

[145] The remainder of the letter, beginning with یقین , is found in a fragment pasted sideways on the left margin of letter no. 334, which is numbered 337b in the original.

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374(380)[146]

After the statement of supplication, it is submitted[147] that all of the prayer-sayers [*duᶜāgūyān*] are engaged in [fulfilling] the duty of well-wishing, asking that, through [God's] pure favor, the banners of [your] sovereignty and power be kept forever aloft, and that the sanctuary of the territories [*mamālik*] of the world-refuge court, which is the cause for the security and safety of all the people of the faith, be kept inviolable and protected from other misfortunes. Amen. Amen. Amen. This is a prayer for humanity [*barīya*] and is obligatory. Secondly, the petition is that what the servitors of his eminence the repository of virtue, (May he not cease being the refuge of the people until the Day of Resurrection),[148] my master [Mawlānā Qāsim], who has been chosen for honor[ing] through the [meaning] of the *āyat*, "We raised him to a lofty station,"[149] (May God perpetuate his exaltation), and what was brought to the attention of the servitors of the royal threshold [of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd] is not true.[150]

The [actual] situation was that before his [Mawlānā Qāsim's] return [from Herat to Samarqand], this kind of false talk was pervasive among the common people of that region [Khurāsān] who were coming from the royal camp [*urdū'i humāyūn*] [of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā]. Talk of this sort, in the form of false rumors, was on the tongues of the common people, and they would say that such things were heard at the royal camp. Although such talk was current among the aforementioned [common] people, because of the great kindness and favor of the servitors of his Royal Majesty, the Shadow of God [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May God perpetuate his domain and sovereignty), and [because of] the requirements of courtesy and respect that were maintained and established by the pillars of the state [*arkān-i dawlāt*], (May their blessings be extended), with regard to the servitors here

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[146] Letter nos. 333(338) through 373(379) are those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[147] ᶜAbd al-Avval's introductory style differs from that of Khwāja Aḥrār; he uses the term *maᶜrūż* rather than *marfūᶜ*.

[148] The *duᶜā* is written in the right margin.

[149] Qur'ān. 19:57.

[150] Mawlānā Qāsim was one of Khwāja Aḥrār's closest disciples and spent almost fifty years in his service. He often traveled to Herat on Khwāja Aḥrār's behalf. See Chapter 3 for more details, and *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 597-603.

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[in Mawarannahr], the talk was not heard [from] of the servitors here.[151]

When my noble master [Mawlānā Qāsim] came to visit, he said that this talk was untrue; even if it occurred in the royal camp and was on the tongues of the common people, it was [still] a pack of lies, and the talk and speculations of the common people are not worth relating. In short, the noble repository of virtue, my master [Mawlānā Qāsim], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), recounted several times, in the noble assembly of the holy [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), the details of the kindnesses and many favors extended by the servitors of his Royal Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May God perpetuate his dominion), and the observance of proper courtesy and complete respect on the part of the great *amīrs*, especially what was witnessed from his honor,[152] (May God expand his blessings and extend his shadow [of protection]),[153] - so that [this situation] was [fully] reported. And since it is a duty, and is a cause of favor, there was no impropriety in the spreading of stories [of virtues] and the explanation of the observance of etiquette with respect to him that was observed on the part of the servitors of my master, (May his shadow [of protection] be extended). May a good end in all affairs in the most complete manner be achieved and the assistance through [God's] favors increase day by day.

The needy one, ᶜAbd al-Avval

His eminence, my master, Mawlānā Qāsim, (May his prosperity be prolonged), expresses his salutations and prayers.[154]

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[151] In many of Khwāja Aḥrār's letters regarding various peace negotiations he shows great concern about the negative effects of rumors. In Khwāja Aḥrār's role as mediator he was acutely aware of the consequences that rumors might have on the outcome of such negotiations. See letter nos. 58(61), 286(290), 291(295), 292(296), 293(297) and 302(306), among others. In this letter ᶜAbd al-Avval reports that Khwāja Aḥrār denied the veracity of the rumors that were heard by the servitors of Mawlānā Qāsim, and Qāsim himself. Apparently they heard those rumors in Herat, along the way in Khurāsān, and in the royal camp. ᶜAbd al-Avval writes in defense of Mawlānā Qasim and praises the kindness and respect shown by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and his servitors to Khwāja Aḥrār and his followers.

[152] ᶜAbd al-Avval is probably referring here to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[153] This *duᶜā* is written in the right margin.

[154] This addition is written on the bottom right margin of the letter.

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374(380)[155]

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه جمیع دعاگویان بوظایف دولتخواهی اشتغال نموده میطلبند که همیشه بمحض عنایت رایات سلطنت و اقتدار برافراشته حریم ممالك بارگاه عالمپناه که سبب امن و امان و ملجا و ملاذ کافه اهل ایمان است از سایر مکاره معصوم و محفوظ باشد آمین آمین آمین و هذا دعاء للبریه واجب ثانیا عرضه داشت آنکه آنچه از ملازمان جناب فضایلمآبی [لا زال ملجا الانام الی یوم القیام][156] مخدومی المختص بتشریف و رفعناه مکانا علیا ادام الله علاه نقل کرده شده و بعرض ملازمان سریر اعلا رسیده غیر واقعست صورت حال آن بود که پیش از مراجعت ایشان از مردم عامه تبعه آن دیار که از اردوی همایون آمده بودند این نوع سخنان برسم اراجیف در افواه عوام بوده و چنین میگفته اند که در اردوی همایون چنیین شنیده می شد اگر چه این سخنان میان مردم مذکور بود فاما بسبب کمال الطافه و اعطاف ملازمان حضرت سلطنت شعاری ظل اللهی [خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه][157] و شرایط آداب و احترام ارکان دولت عمت برکاتهم که بنسبت ملازمان اینجایی مشهود و مقرر بود پیش ملازمان اینجایی این سخن مسموع نبود و در وقتی که جناب مخدومی تشریف آوردند ایشان فرمودند که این سخن

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[155] Letter nos. 333(338) through 373(379) are those of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[156] Written on the right margin.

[157] Written on the upper right margin.

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غیر واقع است و اگر چنانچه در اردوی همایون واقع بوده باشد
و در افواه وعوام بوده از قبیل اراجیف است و سخنان
واحتمالات کلام عوام قابل نقل نیست القصه جناب فضائل مآبی
مخدومی دام برکاته تفاصیل الطاف و کمال عنایات ملازمان
حضرت سلطنت شعاری خلد ملکه و رعایت حسن آداب و
کمال احترام امراء عظام خصوصا آنچه ازآن حضرت عمت
برکاتهم مد ظلهم مشاهده فرموده بوده اند بکرات در مجلس
شریف حضرت خواجه [سلمهم الله و ابقاهم][158] یاد فرمودند که
بعرض رسانیده شد و چنانچه وظیفه باشد و موجب احسانست
در نشر مناقب و شرح رعایت آداب که بنسبت ایشان مرعی بوده
از ملازمان جناب مخدومی مد ظله تقصیری واقع نشد حسن
عاقبت در جمیع امور بر وجه اتم میسر باد و مدد الطاف
روزافزون

الفقیر عبد الاول

جناب مخدومی مولانا قاسم دام برکاتهم دعا میرسانند
والسلام[159]

375(381)

After the statement of supplication, helplessness, and dejection, it is submitted that it has been forty-five years since my father conveyed

[158] Written on the right margin.

[159] This addition is written on the right margin.

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the hamlet [*mazraᶜ*] called Khānshāh as *vaqf-i awlād* [family *vaqf*],[160] and the *qāżīs* of Islam issued a judgment regarding the soundness and irrevocability [*ṣihat va luzūm*] of that *vaqf*. It has been fifteen years or more that, as a result of the vicissitudes of time and straitened circumstances, without permission and legal authorization [*bī idhn va rukhṣa-i sharᶜī*], some instances of commercial sale have occurred [*baᶜżī ṣūratī bayᶜī*] and three quarters of the aforementioned [hamlet] of Khānshāh have been sold.[161] Since this act is disapproved of by the Sharīᶜa, and the shame and inauspiciousness of this act falls on both buyer and seller, I wrote from time to time to [my] brothers and relatives that they must content themselves with the other benefits [*inᶜāmāt*] [afforded by the *vaqf*], exclusively, and spend the rest on restoring Khānshāh.[162] Because this has occurred during this year,[163] all [my] relatives have made the effort and have bought [the land] at the current price [*be qīmat-i vaqt*]; it has been heard that someone has bought [land] as my agent [*vikālat*] and has been farming it in my name. This matter is extremely disagreeable to me, and it is certain that everyone will find this reprehensible.

Inasmuch as my request for [your] attention is because of the poverty and plight of [my] relatives, [and] not [with the intention] of generating property and worldly success for myself, I have become greatly pained by this matter. There should not have been either the name or form of buying and selling; they should [now] seek the consent of that person [the agent] and they should manage [affairs] as stipulated in the *vaqf* charter. Based upon [the saying], "The occurrence of truthfulness requires a hearing,"[164] it is necessary to humbly

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[160] ᶜAbd al-Avval was born in Nīshāpūr; the hamlet of Khānshāh was therefore located in Nīshāpūr, where it is known that his father was a large landowner. His brother, Abū'l-Ghayth, later moved from Samarqand back to Khurāsān.

[161] This letter concerns the *vaqf-i awlād* that was endowed by ᶜAbd al-Avval's father forty-five years earlier. ᶜAbd al-Avval is upset and concerned that, contrary to the Sharīᶜa, some of his family had sold portions of the land. In response to his repeated appeals and advice, his relatives used part of the income from the land to "rescue," meaning buy back, the land so it could once again be used as his father, the *vāqif*, had intended.

[162] Restitution (literally rescuing, *talkhīṣ*) means that they should buy back the land.

[163] *Dar īn sal* is written on the right margin.

[164] This proverb is written on the right margin.

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submit, "Nor do I absolve my own self [of blame],"[165] nor do I justify it; for whatever they relate about humankind is in the realm of possibility.[166] May the causes of happiness of the two worlds be increased day by day. Peace!

His honor, Mawlānā Qāsim, at your service, (May his blessings be perpetuated), expresses his prayers; may they be accepted. It is requested that I and all the followers, particularly [my] brother, Abū'l-Ghayth, may not be deprived of your blessings and generosity. [As it is said], "What need is there to recommend [things] to heaven?"[167]

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

375(381)

بعد از عرض نیاز و افتقار و عجز و انکسار معروض آنکه والد
این فقیر مدت چهل و پنج سال شده که مزرعه خانشاه نام وقف
اولاد کرده اند و قضاة اسلام بصحه و لزوم آن وقف حکم
فرموده مدت پانزده سال یا زیاده شده که بسبب عوارض روزگار
و کمال اضطرار بی اذن و رخصه شرعی بعضی صورتی بیعی
واقع شده و ثلثة ارباع خانشاه مذکور فروخته اند بنابرانکه
این امر ناپسندیده شریعتست و شآمت و بی یمنی آن بنسبت بایع
و مشتری مقرر این فقیر احیانا به برادران و خویشان می نوشتم که
باید که از سایر انعامات بجزئی قناعت کنند و بقیه را صرف
تخلیص خانشاه نمایند بنابر وقوع این صورت [درین سال][168] همه
خویشان اهتمام فرموده اند و بقیمت وقت خریده اند چنین شنیده

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[165] Qur'ān, 12:53, which concerns the story of Joseph.

[166] This last phrase is written sideways on the right margin.

[167] This postscript is written sideways on the right margin.

[168] Written on the right margin.

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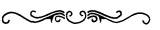
شد که شخصی بوکالة این فقیر خریده و باسم این فقیر
زراعت نموده این امر پیش این فقیربسیار بسیار ناپسندیده نمود و
یقین آنست که پیش همه مستحسن نخواهد بود چونکه التماس
التفات فقیر و التفات بسبب فقر و اضطرار خویشان بود نه
ملاحظه پیدا ساختن املاك و سرانجام روزگار خود ازین صورت
بسار متاء لم شدیم بایستی که اسم و رسم بیع و شرا نبودی
استرضاء آن شخص نمودندی و چنانچه واقع است برسم وقفیه
تصرف نمودندی بنابر وقوع الصدق حقیق بآن یستمع واجب نمود
بعرض رسانیدن و ما ابری نفسی و ما ازکیها [که هر چه نقل کنند
از بشر در امکانست][169] اسباب سعادت دارین روزافزون باد
والسلام

الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

جناب[170] مخدومی مولانا قاسم دام برکاته دعا میرسانند بشرف
قبول مقرون باد التماس آنکه این فقیر و جمیع خویشان خصوصا
برادر امیر ابوالغیث از شرف عنایت و التفات محروم نباشیم چه
حاجت است سفارش بآسمان کردن



[169] Written sideways on the right margin.
[170] Postscript written sideways on the right margin.

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376(382a,b)[171]

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is this: always observing the canons of supplication and sincerity, I request [that] … [172] and is the refuge of the poor and of [all] creatures, (May he be preserved from the vicissitudes of time, and may the glory and power of this world be encompassed, in the most agreeable manner, in [his] eternal felicity). Because [my] brother, Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth, is heading to that side [Khurāsān], we wish that he will not be deprived of the honor of presenting [you] with prayers and [benefitting] from the rays of light of [your] radiant mind. Peace!

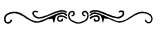
The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avvāl

376(382a,b)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه همیشه قواعد نیاز و اخلاص مرعی داشته میطلبیم … و ملاذ فقراء و برایاست از عوارض روزگار محفوظ و عزت و اقتدار این جهانی بر وجه احسن متضمن سعادت جاودان باد چونکه خدمت برادر امیر ابوالغیث متوجه آنجانب شدند خواستیم که از شرف عرض دعا و اشعه انوار ضمیر منیر محروم نباشیم والسلام

الفقیرالیه عبدالاول



[171] The first part of the letter is no. 382a, the second is 382b; both are on folio 27a.

[172] Several words are unclear because of damage.

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377(383a,b)[173]

After the presentation of supplication, the petition is that the bearer of this letter, [my] dear brother, has set out for that side [Khurāsān] and will have the honor of coming before you. However much, in accordance with the saying, "from hearts to hearts," the window of this *faqīr's* well-wishing supplication is manifest before the illuminated mind of his Majesty, a few words have been offered nonetheless, in observance of the injuncton, "Love requires supplication in all circumstances." Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

377(383a,b)

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز برادر عزیز
عزیمت آنجانب نمودند و شرف ملازمت خواهند داشت هرچند
بحکم من القلوب الی القلوب روزنه نیاز دولتخواهی این فقیر بر
ضمیر منیر آنحضرت روشن است لیکن بموجب الحب موجب
التضرع فی کل حال چند کلمه معروض شد والسلام
الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

378(384 a,b,c)[174]

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the *faqīrs* here are occupied with the duties of well-wishing, and desire that the occasion for his eminence's happiness in both worlds may increase day by day. Amen! The honorable bearer of this letter is a long-time acquaintance and close [companion] of the servitors here [in Samarqand]. The request is that, if he should decide to set out and come to this side [Mawarannahr] with [his] household [*kūch*], his goal should

[173] The first part of the letter is no. 383a, the second is 383b; both are on folio 27a.

[174] The letter is found in three sections on folio 27a.

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be accomplished with the favor of the servitors of his eminence, May God perpetuate his shadow [of protection]. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

378(384 a,b,c)[175]

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه فقراء اینجائی بوظایف
دولتخواهی استغال نموده میخواهند که اسباب سعادت دارین آنجا
آنجناب روزافزون باشد آمین خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز را
اختصاص و آشنائی بملازمان اینجائی مدتی مدید است که هست
التماس آنکه اگر عزیمت فرمایند که بکوچ باینجانب آیند بعنایت
ملازمان آنجناب مد ظله مقصود ایشان حاصل شود یقین است که
عنایت خواهند فرمود والسلام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول

379(385)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that his honor, Mawlānā Muḥammad,[176] has for a long time enjoyed the utmost of distinction, in the honor of servitude, among the select servitors of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God most high grant him peace and preserve him].[177] In accordance with [his] desire and the will [of God], he has set out to that region [Khurāsān], intending to study. The request from the servitors of his Majesty, (May their blessings be prolonged) is that the shadow of affection and mercy may encompass the affairs of the above-mentioned [Mawlānā Muḥammad]. Peace and respect!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avvāl

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[175] The letter is found in three sections on folio 27a.

[176] This is Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, author of the *Silsilat al-ᶜārifīn* and spiritual successor of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[177] Written on the upper right margin.

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379(385)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز خدمت مولانا محمد از ملازمان خاصه [حضرت خواجه سلمه الله تعالی و ابقاه][178] زمان مدید بشرف ملازمت اختصاص تمام داشتن بموجب اراده و مشیت عزیمت تحصیل نموده متوجه آن دیار شد التماس از ملازمان آن حضرت دام برکاتهم آنکه سایه عاطفت و مرحمت را شامل احوال مشارالیه گردانند والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول

380(386)

After the presentation of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that, observing the obligation of supplication and well-wishing, I always seek that God will honor and distinguish his eminence [the addressee],[179] (May his times be good and his blessings be everlasting),[180] with the noblest and finest gifts in this world and the next, in accordance with the *ḥadīth*, "The prayers of the beneficiary for the donor are answered,"[181] it is firmly believed that [our prayers] will be accepted. Because the kindness and favor of his eminence[182] with regard to this *faqīr* are absolutely apparent and incontestable [*ẓuhūr va vużūḥ*], those who have many needs and requests are presenting

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[178] Written on the upper right margin.

[179] The addressee is likely either ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī or ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[180] This *duᶜā* is written in the right margin.

[181] A similar tradition is given in al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-muqaddima*, *ḥadīth* no. 645, but it is only attributed to a conversation of the Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd al-Malik (d. 99/717) with Abū Ḥāzim Sulamah b. Dīnār al-Tammār al-Acraj (d. 135/753), a *muḥaddith*. Abū Ḥāzim does not attribute the saying to the Prophet. *Mawsūᶜat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf*, CD-ROM, Ḥarf & Sakhr Co. (Cairo, 1991-1995, 1996).

[182] ᶜAbd al-Avval repeats the previous *duᶜā* (which he notes with a mark above the line), "May his times be good and his blessings be everlasting."

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their affairs and requests [to me] so that I may convey their wishes to [you]. We are ashamed by the abundance of these [requests]. In consideration of the saying, "He who is commanded is excused [*be mulaḥaza al-ma'mūr maᶜdhūr*]," you will forgive [me]. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avvāl

The holy Shaykh al-mashā'ikh Imām Yūsuf Hamadānī, (May God most high hallow his soul), said, "All spiritual openings come through bearing the burden of mankind; the attainment of desire is through the denial of desire."[183]

380(386)

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه بموجب نیاز و دولتخواهی همیشه میطلبیم که حضرت حق سبحانه آن جناب [طاب اوقاتهم و دام برکاتهم][184] را باشرف و احسن مواهب در دنیا و آخرت مشرف و مخصوص گرداند بحکم حدیث دعاء المحسن الیه للمحسن مستجاب یقین واثق است که شرف قبول یافته چون الطاف و عنایت آن جناب[185] بنسبت این فقیر در غایت ظهور و وضوح است اصحاب حاجات و نیاز بسیار امر و التماس می نمایند که مرادات ایشان بعرض رسانیم از کثرت این صورت بسیار شرمنده ایم بملاحظه الماء مور معذور عفو خواهید فرمود والسلام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول

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[183] Postscript is written sideways above the letter.

[184] Written on the upper right margin. The را is written above the line.

[185] A mark written above the line by the author indicates the repetition of the *duᶜā*, طلب اوقاتهم و دام براکاتهم.

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حضرت شیخ المشایخ امام یوسف همدانی قدس الله تعالی ارواحهم فرموده اند همه کشایشها در تحمل بار خلق است یافت مراد در بی مرادیست[186]

381(387)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, the petition is that since, through the will and good assistance of God, the issue of peace and reconciliation has been settled in the desired manner, and [since] the most difficult and numerous obstacles have been removed, we hope that the honor of coming before [you] in the most agreeable manner will be realized. [My] brother, Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth, having chosen to travel for the purpose of care and support of his brother and [other] relatives, has set off to that region [Khurāsān]. He intends to settle in Herat after his return. It is requested that inasmuch as the Muslim *faqīrs* [subjects] are enjoying the favor of your noble mind, [my] brother [Abū'l-Ghayth] and this *faqīr* as well may not be deprived [of your attention]. Peace![187]

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avvāl

381(387)

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه چون بموجب اراده و حسن تائید الهی امر صلح و آشتی بر وجه دلخواه قرار یافت و اعظم و اکثر موانع مرتفع شد امیدواریم که بر وجه احسن شرف ملازمت میسر شود برادر امیر ابوالغیث بجهة رعایت و تعهد برادر و

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[186] Postscript is written sideways above the letter.

[187] As noted above, ᶜAbd al-Avval was born in Nīshāpūr. It is therefore possible to assume that his family lived in Nīshāpūr and that his brother, Abū'l-Ghayth, was traveling with ᶜAbd al-Avval from Samarqand to Nīshāpūr. Abū'l-Ghayth apparently intended to settle in Herat after returning from Nīshāpūr.

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خویشان مشقت سفر اختیار نموده متوجه آن دیار شدند عزیمت
دارند که بعد از مراجعت در هری متوطن شوند التماس آنکه
چنانکه فقراء مسلمین از برکات التفات شریف بهره منداند آن
برادر و این فقیر نیز محروم نباشیم والسلام
الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

382(388)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that it is clear and apparent to [your] radiant and informed mind that the ancestors and relatives of the honorable bearer of this letter, have been among the well known and learned people of that region [Khurāsān]. Due to their abundance of knowledge and wisdom they were honored and distinguished by past *sulṭāns* with various honors and appointments to exalted positions. In these days, his honor, the aforementioned [bearer] has been left alone.[188] As a result of the design and will [of God] and of the vicissitudes of time, the aforementioned's servitors [*mulāzimān*][189] have been left in a state of disarray.To repair things and make things whole will be difficult without the help and favor of the servitors [of his Majesty], (May their blessings be everlasting and the shadow [of their kindness] be extended). Inasmuch as care and favor of old famil[ies] is an abiding custom and rule, I trust that the servitors of his Majesty, (May their blessings be everlasting), will observe the requirements of the utmost kindness and mercy in all the aims and needs of the aforementioned [bearer], honor [him] with the favor of their alchemical mind, and keep him within the shadow of [their] favor and protection. May the assistance of [his] kindness increase day by day. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

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[188] This sentence is written on the right margin.

[189] The term *mulāzimān* is usually used in reference to the court. In this case it is being used as a form of respect.

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382(388)

الحمد

بعداز عرض نیاز معروض آنکه بر ضمیر منیر خبیر روشن و هویداست که آباء و اقرباء خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز از متعینان و افاضل آن دیار بودند بنابر وفور فضائل و دانائی از سلاطین ماضی بانواع تشریفات وتفویض مناصب عالی مشرف و مخصوص شده بودند [درین ایام خدمت مشارالیه تنها مانده اند][190] و بموجب اراده و مشیت و عوارض روزگار خلل کلی باحوال ملازمان خدمت مشارالیه راه یافته و تدارك و سرانجام آن بی امداد و عنایت ملازمان دام برکاتهم و مد ظلهم متعسر است چونکه رعایت و تعهد خاندان قدیم قاعده مقرر و قانون مستمرست یقین که ملازمان آن حضرت دام برکاتهم در جمیع مقاصد و حاجات خدمت مشارالیه موجب کمال عنایت و مرحمت مرعی خواهند فرمود بالتفات خاطر کیمیا مآثر مشرف خواهند گردانید و در ظل عنایت و حمایت خواهند داشت مدد الطاف روزافزون باد والسلام

الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

[190] Written on the right margin.

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383(389a,b)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, the petition is that his honor the refuge of virtues [*khidmat-i faẓā'il ma'ābī*], (May his acceptance and fortune be prolonged), has fulfilled the obligations of supplication and devotion. His manner and qualities [*ṭarīqa va awṣāf*] were approved and worthy of praise. The holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May [God] grant him peace and preserve him),[191] used to recount for his companions the qualities of his honor such as his composure, sobriety, and observance of etiquette [*ḥilm va viqār va riᶜāyat-i adab*]. Since his honor was [distinguished] with this kindness and with worthy and proper service, all [his] devoted friends [*muḥibbān*] rejoiced in his arrival. Praise to God for good fortune!

I have heard that my brother [Abū'l-Ghayth] is in the noble *khānqāh* and Abode of Benevolence [*Dār al-Iḥsān*] [in Herat], which is among the past signs of eternal favor [*āthār-i sābiqa-i ᶜināyat-i azalī*], and has been gazed upon by the eye of favor.[192] Inasmuch as explantion is incapable of effecting proper gratitude for [these] favors, what can I say but, "May God reward you [a good reward] on behalf of us and all of the Muslims." Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

The *faqīrs* here, especially his honor, my master Mawlānā Qāsim and Mawlānā Sulṭān, (May their blessings be prolonged), are occupied with the duties of devotion and are sending many many prayers.[193]

383(389a,b)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه خدمت فضائل مآبی دام
قبوله و اقباله شرایط و لوازم نیاز و اخلاص بتقدیم رسانیدند و

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[191] This *duᶜā* is written in the upper right margin of the letter.

[192] The identification of the *Dār al-Iḥṣān* is not provided. One can only speculate that it may be one of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'i's buildings.

[193] The postscript is written on the right margin at the bottom of folio 389b.

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طریقه و اوصاف ایشان پسندیده و مستحسن واقع شد و حضرت خواجه [سلمه وابقاه][194] با اصحاب اوصاف خدمت ایشان از حلم و وقار و رعایت آداب خطاب بطریق استحسان یاد میفرمودند و چون خدمت ایشان باین عنایت و خدمت لایق و شایسته بودند همه محبان از آمدن ایشان خوشدل شدند لله الحمد علی التوفیق شنیده شد که برادر این فقیر در خانقاه شریف و[195] دارالاحسان که از جمله آثار سابقه عنایت ازلیست می بوده و بعین عنایت منظور چونکه تعبیر از اداء شکر الطاف عاجز است جز این چه گویم که جزاکم الله عنا و عن سایر المسلمین خیرا والسلام

الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

فقراء اینجائی خصوصا خدمت مخدومی مولانا قاسم و جناب مولانا سلطان دام برکاتهم بوظایف اخلاص اشتغال نموده دعا و نیاز بسیار بموقف عرض میرسانند[196]

384(390)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, it is reported that the honorable bearer of this letter of petition, is occupied with studying. Because the benefits and blessings of travel are many and travel in a foreign land has great [spiritual] gain, he has set out to that region [Khurāsān].

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[194] Written on the upper right margin.

[195] The letter continues from here on fol. 389b.

[196] Postscript written on fol. 389b.

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The request from the servitors of his Majesty, (May God prolong his blessing and extend the shadow of his favor),[197] is that he may be held in optimum kindness and favor and not be denied the attention of [his] alchemical mind. It is hoped that the request will be granted. May the happiness of both worlds be attained. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

384(390)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز بتحصیل
اشغال می نمودند چونکه فوائد و برکات سفر بسیار است و
غربت درین امر دخل عظیم دارد متوجه آن دیار شدند لتماس
آنکه ملازمان آن حضرت [دام برکاته و مد ظله العالی] بعین
عاطفت و عنایت منظور و ملحوظ دارند و التفات خاطر کیمیا
مآثر دریغ نفرمایند یقین است که التماس مبذول خواهد بود
سعادت دارین میسر باد والسلام

الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

385(391)

He!

May God most high raise the shadow of his greatness for the protection of all Muslims and the honor of the faithful.

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the time of the dervishes who reside at the threshold of the refuge of poverty is spent fulfilling the duty of praying [on your behalf] and [they are] greatly desirous of [your] enrapturing presence. May the meeting occur as soon as possible, through His favor and kindness. Let it be

[197] This *duᶜā* is written in the upper right corner of the letter.

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recorded that the bearers of [these] pages of affection, his honor, Khwāja Ibād Allāh and Khwāja ᶜAlī, (May God increase their success), [are] from among the old friends of this devotee [*mukhliṣ*]. The request is that when they refer their affairs to the high-ranking servitors they may not deny [them] favor and kindness. The obligation [entailed by] this belongs to me. Because the favors and kindnesses of your honor to the dervishes of this household [*khānadān*] are utterly clear, I have troubled [you] only to this [small] extent. I trust that this request will not be denied. May the Exalted Shadow and peace be everlasting.

The most humble servant, Khwāja ᶜAlī

385(391)

هو

اعلی الله تعالی ظلال معالیه اعتصاما لعامة المسلمین و افتخارا
للمخلصین بعد از عرض نیازمندی معروض آنکه اوقات
درویشان آستان مسکنت آشیان بوظایف دعاگوئی مصروف است
و عظیم مشتاق حضور موفور السرور می باشد ملاقات عما
قریب روزی باد بمنة وجوده باز نموده می آید که دارندگان
صحیفه المحبة خدمت خواجه عباالله و خواجه علی زید
توفیقهما از جمله دوستان قدیم این مخلص اند التماس آنست که
بوقت رجوع مهام بملازمان عالیشان عنایت و التفات دریغ
ندارند منتی آن عاید بدین فقیر است چون عنایات والطاف
آنحضرت بنسبت درویشان این خاندان در غایة وضوح است
بدین قدر مصدع شد یقین که ملتمس رد نگردد ظلال عالی
والسلام مدام باد

احقر العبید خواجه علی

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386(392)

He!

After the [fulfillment of the] obligation of servitude, it is faithfully submitted to the servitors of his Majesty that the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace and preserve him), sent counsel [*naṣīḥat*] several times, through his servitors, to his Highness Sulṭān-Maḥmūd; disregarding [such counsel] is a great sin. He did not accept it. In these past few days his honor, Mawlānā Muḥammad, arrived bringing apologies, [announcing], "Plundering was not our choice. Our irregulars [*barg*] were carrying out acts of war [*jang*] without our decision. From now on, we shall not act badly."[198]

For this reason, the holy Khwāja wrote a letter and sent [it to you in Khurāsān] along with one of his followers, Mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Karīm, several loads of paper, sesame, rice, cotton, and other [goods] which belong to the holy Khwāja [*taᶜalluq be Ḥażrat-i Khwāja*].[199] If, through the grace of [your] being, a royal directive [*ishārat-i aᶜlā*] were given to the servitors so that they would attend to appealing to the noble mind [of his Majesty] regarding the accomplishment of the affairs of the holy Khwaja, (May God grant him peace), it would be an extraordinary and exceptional kindness.[200] He is the judge![201]

Furthermore, in [your] noble letters, which were sent as expressions of sincere devotion, there was a royal directive [*ishārat-i aᶜlī*] [to the effect] that from this side, one constantly implement [any] means for unity and for the establishment of proper respect by the older brother [Sulṭān-Maḥmūd] for the younger [Sulṭān-Aḥmad].[202] And just as in

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[198] Mawlāna Muḥammad is conveying these words from Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. Mawlānā Muḥammad is most likely Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāżī, the author of the *Silsilat al-ᶜārifīn*, and Khwāja Aḥrār's spiritual successor. He served as the intermediary between Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Khwāja Aḥrār; see Chapter 2 for a discussion of his role. In letter no. 55(57) Khwāja Aḥrār requests permission for Mawlānā Muḥammad's brother's children to return from Herat to Mawarannahr. In letter no. 379(385), ᶜAbd al-Avval refers to Mawlānā Muḥammad as a "select member" of the servitors of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[199] See letter no. 389(395) of Mawlānā Qāsim in which he writes about the same goods being transported by Mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Karīm and Amīr Ḥusayn.

[200] Beginning with the word *sāzand*, the remaining text is written on the right margin.

[201] حاکمند is a formulation that is used throughout the documents. It has been translated as "He (God) is the judge," meaning that it is God's decision or will.

[202] The advice was apparently issued by Khwāja Aḥrār, who was intimately

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these days [a sense of] shame for having plundered Muslims has made its way into the mind of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Mīrzā, if full agreement and unity should occur within the minds of the servitors of his noble Highness, the *makhdūmzāda*, (May God perpetuate his dominion and authority), then it is not unlikely that he [Sulṭān-Aḥmad] will accept [it]. He is the judge![203]

The most humble servant, Khwāja ᶜAlī

386(392)

هو

بعد از لوازم عبودیت صادقانه معروض بجناب شریف ملازمان حضرت آنکه حضرت خواجه سلمه الله و ابقاه چند نوبت حضرت سلطان محمود میرزا را از ملازمان ایشان نصیحت فرستادند که گذشتن از آن گناه عظیم است قبول نکردند و درین چند ایام خدمت مولانا محمد آمده عذر خواهی آورده بودند که در غارت اختیار نداشتیم و برگ مایان بی اختیار ما حرکت جنگ می کرده اند؛ و بعدازین بدی نکنیم از آن جهت حضرت خواجه مکتوب نوشته و مولانا عبدالکریم از کسان ایشان است همراه فرستادند و چند خروار کاغذ و کنجد و گرنج و پخته و غیره نیز همراه فرستادند که تعلق بحضرت خواجه دارد اگر از راه کرم وجود بملازمان اشارت عالی شود که در اتمام مهمات حضرت

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involved in the peace negotiations and had great influence over the actions of Sulṭān-Aḥmad. According to Bābur, Sulṭān-Aḥmad "was a disciple of his Highness Khwāja ᶜUbaidu'l-lāh (Aḥrārī), his instructor in religion and the strengthener of his Faith. He was very ceremonious, particularly when sitting with the Khwāja ... Of genius he had no share. He was just and as his Highness the Khwāja was there, accompanying him step by step, most of his affairs found lawful settlement." BN, 33-34.

[203] Compare this letter with others concerned with the establishment of peace between the brothers, such as letter nos. 14, 302(306), 374(380), 386(392), and

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خواجه سلمه الله نیاز خاطر شریف مشغول سازند[204] غایت و
نهایت کرم باشد حاکمند دیگر آنکه در مکتوبات شریف که
برسم اخلاص ارسال نموده بودند اشارت عالی بود که ازین
جانب پیوسته سبب یك جهتی و ترتیب رعایت برادر کلان باخرد
بجای آورده و چون درین ایام خجالت غارت مسلمانان در
خاطر سلطان محمود میرزا راه یافت اگر در خاطر ملازمان
حضرت مخدوم زاده سلطنت شعاری خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه
موافقت و اتحاد تمام واقع شود دور نیست که قبول کنند حاکمند
احقر العبید خواجه علی

387(393)

He!

May God most high elevate his glory, increase his fortune, and give him success in thanking Him!

After the expression of benedictions, it is sincerely submitted that the bearer of this letter has been on this side for a while and has a family. He has set out for the capital city [*dār al-salṭana*], (May it and other Muslim cities be protected from calamities), with the intention of seeing his mother, who is on that side [Khurāsān]. It is expected that the servitors will not withhold favor [to him]. Since his children, because they are foster-siblings [*rażā*ᶜ] with my children, are close friends [*maḥram*], I have been so bold [as to submit this appeal].

Furthermore, the *vaqf-nāma* of the radiant shrine of Qutham bin ᶜAbbās, son of the uncle of the best of people [of the Prophet Muḥammad], (May God bless them and grant them peace), has been in the

389(395). It is possible that this letter was addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī since he is mentioned as having taken part in the negotiations on the Khurāsān side in letter no. 389(395).

[204] The remainder of the letter is written on the right margin.

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treasury [*khizāna*] that belongs to Khwāja ᶜAnbār, the scribe; it has been moved to the capital city.[205] And [here] some of the [properties] made *vaqf* are under the supervision [*āz mawqūfāt*] of various people, and in some cases the conditions of the donor [*shart-i vāqif*] regarding the expenditure of revenues [*maḥṣūlāt*] are also unknown. If [you] show favor and the servitors endeavor to send back [the *vaqf-nāma*] through the bearer [of this letter], it shall be a true favor and will be added to [your] other good deeds. May the shadow of [your] favor and the days of [your] fortune be prolonged. Amen!

The needy prayer-sayer, Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn

387(393)

هو

اعلی الله تعالی شانه و زاد دولته و توفیقا بشکره

بعد از رفع دعوات مخلصانه معروض آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز مدتی شد که درین جانب است و متاء هل است متوجه دارالسلطنه صینت و سایر بلاد مسلمین عن الافات شده بدیدن والده که در آن جانب دارد توقع آنکه ملازمان عنایت دریغ نفرمایند چون فرزندان او از جهة رضاع با فرزندان این فقیر محرم اند این جرءات نمود دیگر وقف نامه مزار پرانوار ابن عم خیر الناس صلی الله علیه و سلم قثم بن العباس رضی الله عنهما در خزانه بوده که تعلق بخواجه عنبر کاتب داشته آنرا بدارالسلطنه نقل کرداه اند و بعضی از موقوفات هر کس متصرف اند و شرط واقف نیز در صرف محصولات بعضی مجهول است اگر عنایت

[205] The word *taᶜalluq* can be used to denote possession, although not necessarily ownership. The literal meaning of *taᶜalluq*, "to be connected with" suggests that Khwāja ᶜAnbār was in charge of the treasury.

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فرمایند و ملازمان اهتمام نمایند که بدارنده ارسال فرمایند عین
عنایت و به سایر خیرات ملحق خواهد بود ظلال عنایت و ایام
دولت مستدام باد آمین

الفقیر الداعی محمد تقی الدین

388(394)[206]

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that signs of mercy and compassion, and the infinite kindnesses, which have occurred with respect to all Muslims through the servitors of his eminence, the repository of *amīr*-ship and the refuge of justice [*janāb-i imārat-ma'ābī ma*ᶜ*dalat-iyābī*], (May his compassion not decrease and be extended over all Muslims until the Day of Judgment),[207] have been heard in detail, one after the other; this *faqīr* and all his devoted friends here are greatly gladdened and overjoyed. Praise be to God for [this] good fortune!

Since the blessings of those who hold high positions of authority and power include, by reason of benevolence and compassion, the honor of worldly and other-worldly happiness, all the well-wishers and devoted friends are hopeful that the path of compassion and benevolence towards all Muslims will increase day by day. This too is an expression of gratitude in the most complete form. According to [the *āyat* from] the holy [Qur'ān], "If you are grateful, I will add more [favors] unto you,"[208] it is firmly certain that the means of happiness of both worlds will be increased. It shall be clear and apparent to the radiant mind of the servants that the relatives and family [*khvīshān va qabīla*] of his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, my master Amīr ᶜAbd al-Avval, (May his shadow [of favor] be prolonged), is among the well known *sayyid*s of Khurāsān. In all times he has been a man of virtue and respect. During the time of

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[206] This letter is addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī during his *amīr*-ship of the *dīvān-i aᶜlā* under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (1469-1506) between 876/1472-892/1487.

[207] This *du'ā* is written on the upper right margin of the letter.

[208] Qur'ān, 14:7.

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Mīrzā Bābur his family suffered much turmoil.[209] During the time when his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, has been visiting in this *vilāyat* [Mawarannahr], he did not mention the condition of [his] family, and the weak condition [*zaᶜf-i aḥvāl*] of that group was not known.[210] For this reason, assistance [to them] and their affairs had remained delayed until recently. Now the request of all the devoted friends here is that the servitors not deny his family favor and kindness, and the noble mind of the servitors should be directed so that this family is well cared for and able to engage in the duties of prayers and well-wishing. Since the utmost of well-wishing and sincere devotion is the reason for this petition [*ᶜarż*], there is much hope for forgiveness. May the shadow of [your] kindness and compassion be extended to all Muslims.

His eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, my master Amīr ᶜAbd al-Avval is known for his perfect well-wishing and devotion [to you]. He presents caravans of prayers, hoping that they may find the honor of acceptance.[211]

The most humble servant, Qāsim
The one in need of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

388(394)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه از آثار شفقت و مرحمت و
الطاف نامتناهی که از ملازمان جناب امارت مآبی معدلت ایابی
[لازال اشفاقه مبسوط علی مفارق المسلمین الی یوم الدین]
بنسبت عموم مسلمین واقع است بتفاصیل متعاقب مسموع
میگردد این فقیر و جمیع محبان اینجائی بسیار خوشدل و
شادانیم الحمد الله علی التوفیق چون نعمة عظما مناصب علیه و

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[209] This reference is to the Timurid, Abū'l Qāsim Bābur, who ruled in Khurāsān 853/1449-861/1457.

[210] In this context, *zaᶜf* has the connotation of financial weakness or poverty.

[211] The postscript and signatures are written on the right margin.

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اقتدار بسبب احسان و مرحمت متضمن شرف سعادت دنیا و آخرة است جمیع دولتخواهان و محبان امیدوارند که طریقه مرحمت و احسان بنسبت جمیع مسلمین روز بروز در تزاید باشد و این نیز ادا شکر است بر وجهه اتم بموجب [آیه] کریمه ولئن شکرتم لازید نکم یقین واثق است که اسباب سعادات دارین در ازدیاد خواهد بود بر ضمیر منیر خدام لایح و ظاهر خواهد بود که خویشان و قبیله جناب سیادتمآب مخدومی امیر عبد الاول مد ظلهم از مشاهیر سادات خراسان اند و در همه اعصار صاحب مکنت و محترم بوده اند در زمان امیرزا بابر تفرقه بسیار بآن خاندان راه یافته درین مدت که جناب سیادتمآب درین ولایت تشریف دارند احوال خویشان نگفتند و ضعف احوال آنجماعت معلوم نبود بنابران امداد و مهمات ایشان تا غایت موقوف مانده بود حالا التماس جمیع محبان اینجائی آنست که ملازمان عنایت و الطاف بنسبت خویشان ایشان دریغ نفرمایند و خاطر شریف ملازمان بران باشد که این خاندان مرفه الحال بوظایف دعاگوئی و دولتخواهی اشتغال توانند نمود چون کمال دولتخواهی و اخلاص باعث این عرض است امیدواری عفو بسیار است ظلال عاطفت و مرحمت علی مفارق المسلمین مبسوط باد

جناب سیادتمآب مخدومی امیر عبدالاول بکمال دولتخواهی و اخلاص موصوف اند قوافل دعا بمحل عرض میرسانند امید که

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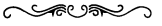
بشرف قبول مقرون باد

بنده کمینه قاسم الفقیر الیه عبدالاو ل[212]



389(395)

The petition of the humble servants [*bandegān*] to the honorable servitors of his Majesty the refuge of sovereignty [*ḥukūmat-panāhī*], (May [God] most high extend his shadow [of protection]),[213] is that the bearer of the letter, the brother of Mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Karīm and Amīr Ḥusayn, who are of the intimate companions of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), placing complete trust in the benevolence of [his] honor, (May His blessings be all embracing), has sent [through them to Herat] several loads of paper, cotton, sesame and rice.[214] It is hoped that, as a favor, a royal directive will be issued to the servitors so that they may be informed and not withhold favor in the completion of [their affairs]. Be extremely and utterly gracious. He is the judge!

Furthermore, the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace and preserve him), had several times issued a directive [*ishārat*] to the servitors of the *makhdūmzāda*, Sulṭan Maḥmūd Mīrzā, violating which is a great sin.[215] And your excellency too, in recent days[?],[216] had made known the matter of Shaykh Mubarak [the blessed shaykh],[217]

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[212] The postscript and signatures are written on the right margin.

[213] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[214] See letter no. 386(392) in which Khwāja ᶜAlī reports that the same goods are being transported to Herat.

[215] In letter no. 386(392), Khwāja ᶜAlī refers to advice (*naṣīḥat)* that had been sent to Sulṭān-Maḥmūd by Khwāja Aḥrār, the "disobeying of which is a great sin." In that letter Khwāja ᶜAlī reported that Sulṭān-Maḥmūd did not accept the advice. In this letter Mawlānā Qāsim reports that Khwāja Aḥrār has issued an order (*ishārāt*) to the servitors of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. It is likely that both authors are referring to the same advice regarding the cessation of fighting by Sulṭān-Maḥmūd.

[216] The text is unclear.

[217] The text is unclear. The suggested reading is: *dar īn amr shaykh mubārak maᶜlūm karda budand.* An alternative reading is: *dar īn amr ... Shaykh Mubārak maᶜlūm karda budand.* "And your excellency too had made known the matter in the blessed ... [letter] of Shaykh Mubarak ... ." A reading of "Shaykh Mubārak" seems less likely since there is no honorific accompanying the name, as is the customary style in the letters.

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and had sent Mawlānā Muḥammad Shīr[218] for the purpose of presenting apologies [to him]; [this] is written in the letter of Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAlī Shīr, (May his shadow be extended). If the directive [*ishārat*] is for peace and reconciliation, it is not unlikely that he will accept; and what the holy Khwāja too has written on this matter is known. The noble letter of the holy Khwāja was sent to your honor so that you may send it on to Marv.[219]

The most humble servant, Qāsim

389(395)

عرضه داشت بندگان کمینه بخدمت ملازمان حضرت [حکومت پناهی مد ظله العالی][220] آنکه دارندگان رقعه نیاز برادر مولانا عبدالکریم و امیر حسین که از کسان خاصه حضرت خواجه اند سلمه الله و ابقاه چند خروار بار از کاغذ و پخته و کنجید و گرنج اعتماد تمام بر کرم وجود آنحضرت عمت برکاته نموده فرستادند امیدواری است که عنایت فرموده بملازمان اشارت عالی رود که ایشان برخبر باشند و در اتمام مهمات عنایت دریغ نفرمایند غایت و نهایت کرم باشد حاکمند

و[221] دیگر آنکه چند نوبت حضرت خواجه سلمه الله و ابقاه ازملازمان مخدوم زاده سلطالن محمود میرزا اشارت فرموده بودند که گذشتن آن گناه عظیم است و حضرت شما نیز در

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[218] A Mawlānā Muḥammad is also mentioned by Khwāja ᶜAlī in letter no. 386(392).

[219] This last paragraph is written on the margin. The marginal writing is not in the author's hand and seems to have been written quickly.

[220] Written on the right margin.

[221] The following words are written on the right margin. The marginal writing is not in the author's hand and seems to have been written quickly.

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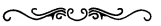
این... امر شیخ مبارك معلوم کرده بودند و مولانا محمد[222]
شیر را بجهت عذرخواهی فرستاده بودند در مکتوب امیر نظام
الدین علیشیر مد ظله نوشته شده اگر اشارت بآشتی و صلح
باشد دور از کار نیست که قبول کنند و مکتوب حضرت خواجه
نیز درین باب نوشته معلوم است و مکتوب شریف حضرت
خواجه بخدمت شما فرستادند که بمرو خواهید فرستاد

بنده کمینه قاسم



390(396)

After the supplicatory customs of worship, it is submitted to the servitors of his excellency who compels respect, the refuge of *amīr*-ship and repository of governance [*imārat-maʿābī va ḥukūmat-panāhī*], (May God, most high extend the good fortune of his blessing over all Muslims), that the noble letter, which was distinguished by the mark of sincere kindness, has been sent; and rubbing it over [our] eyes and kissing it with the lips of courtesy, [we] presented the supplication of his eminence, (May his blessings be extended), to his holiness the refuge of guidance [Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār]. It was ennobled by the honor of acceptance. His noble mind is occupied without bounds with [prayers for] the servitors of the exalted threshold of his Royal Majesty, (May God perpetuate his dominion and rule).[223] It is hoped, through the favor of God most high and through the good fortune of the resolve of the saints [ʿ*azīzān*], that he will be wary with regard to vexations of the mind from general and specific causes. Through His grace and respect!

[No Signature] In the handwriting of Qāsim

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[222] One word is unclear.

[223] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

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390(396)

بعد از مراسم عبودیت نیازمندانه بعز عرض ملازمان واجب
الاحترام حضرت امارت مآبی [و حکومت پناهی ادام الله تعالی
میامن برکاته علی مفارق المسلمین] میرساند که مکتوب شریف
که برسم مخلص نوازی سرافراز گردانیده بودند رسانیدند و بر
سر چشم مالیده و بلب آداب مقبل گردانیده و نیازمندی
آنحضرت را عمت برکاته بصد هزار نیاز بعز عرض حضرت
ارشاد پناهی رسانیده بشرف قبولی مشرف گردانیده خاطر شریف
از حد برون مشغول ملازمان عتبه علیه حضرت سلطنت
شعاری [خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه] دارند امید از عنایت بری
تعالی ع به یمن همت عزیزان آنست که غبار خاطر از جهات کلی
و جزوی نگاه دارد بمنة و کرمه

391(397,398)[224]

The petition of the humble servants to his honorable Majesty whose mark is justice, the Sulṭān of the inhabitants of the world, (May God perpetuate his dominion and rule), is that it has been a long time since the son of the honorable tutor [*ataka*] has been confined [in Herat].[225] Because of that, his father, the tutor, is in great pain. It gives the holy Khwāja [ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), much torment. The pain and heartache of the tutor and wet nurse [*ataka va anaka*] affect the holy *Īshān* very much. Recently he heard that his excellency [the addressee], (May

[224] The letter consists of two parts which are numbered 397 and 398 in the original manuscript.

[225] The *ataka* is the prince's tutor. The *ataka's* son had apparently been imprisoned in Herat.

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his blessings be made all-embracing), set out to realize the honor of kissing the royal threshold of the refuge of *amīr*-ship, (May God most high prolong the favor of his blessings upon all Muslims),[226] and has been honored with that good fortune. [Hearing this, the holy Khwāja] became immensely joyous. He requested from these sincere friends that, if it is brought to the attention of his Majesty, (May His blessings be made all-embracing), I trust that the son [of the *ataka*] will be sent to this side [Mawarannahr] through the favor of his Majesty. The request and expectation of these sincere friends [of yours] is that the request of the sincere friends will not be refused. He is the judge! May your exalted shadow be everlasting!

... [227] request of the *makhdūmzādas* [is that] his honor, Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn, (May his shadow be extended), [be] sent to the *vilāyat* of Khuttalān so that the *makhdūmzādas* will be informed. May it be known to the servitors.

The most humble servant, Qāsim
The most humble servant, Khwāja ᶜAlī

391(397,398)[228]

عرضه داشت بندگان کمینه بخدمت حضرت معدلت شعاری
[سلطان عالمیان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه][229] آنکه مدت مدید
است که فرزند خدمت اتکه مقید بوده است و از آنجهت والد
ایشان که اتکه باشند از حد بیرون در الم اند و حضرت خواجه را
سلمه الله و ابقاه بسیار بسیار زحمت میدهند و الم و درد دل اتکه
و انکه در حضرت ایشان بسیار تاءثیر میکند و درین ایام شنودند
که آنحضرت عمت برکاته بشرف آستان بوسی حضرت

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[226] The words beginning with "refuge of *amīr*-ship" to the end of the *duᶜā* are written on the right margin of letter no. 397, fol. 28b.

[227] This fragment is located to the right of letter no. 397 (no. 398) and faces sideways. Khuttalān (Khatlān, Khutlān) was located in Badakhshan, within Sulṭān-Maḥmūd's domain in the region of Ḥiṣār.

[228] The letter consists of two parts which are numbered 397 and 398 in the original manuscript.

[229] Written on the upper right margin.

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[امارت[230] مآبی ادام الله تعالی میامن برکاته علی مفارق المسلمین]
توجه نموده بآن دولت مشرف شده اند و از حد بیرون شادمان
شده اند ازین محبان التماس این کردند که اگر بعز عرض
آنحضرت عمت برکاته رسانیده شود یقین است فرزند ایشان
بالتفات شریف آنحضرت بدینجانب روانه خواهند ساخت
التماس و توقع این محبان اینست که ملتمس محبان مردود نگردد
حاکمند ظل عالی مدام باد

بنده کمینه قاسم احقر العبید خواجه علی

... طلب[231] مخدوم زاده ها خدمت مولانا کمال الدین
عنایت(؟)[232] مد ظله بولایت ختلان فرستادند که مخدوم
زاده ها را اشارت فرمایند معلوم ملازمان باد

392[233]

... and the amīrs there decided that after joining and having reached Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, all [their] endeavors shall be directed to the conclusion of peace [*ṣulḥ*]. From among the servitors of the holy refuge of guidance [Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], they [the *amīrs*] were taking

---

[230] Written as امارت و, but the و has no apparent meaning. The bracketed words are written on the right margin of no. 397, fol. 28b.

[231] The following fragment is written on no. 398 (MS numeration), which is glued sideways facing no. 397 (MS numeration).

[232] The text is unclear.

[233] This fragment is from a series of letters between Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā in Khurāsān and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd in Ḥiṣār concerning the establishment of peace between them through the mediation of Khwāja Aḥrār and his *murīds*. The beginning of the letter is lost. Since the present fragment is not clear and the letter itself is not included in Adilov's copy, the translation is necessarily approximate. The letter in the original manuscript has no number; Asom Urunbaev has assigned it the number 392. The handwriting is the same as letter no. 396, which is that of Khwāja ʿAlī.

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[... an agent] with them and in rendering services sincere friends shall not err. They should direct some of these words to the attention of Amīr Shaykh Bāyazīd. [234] He is the judge! May [your] exalted shadow be everlasting!

392[235]

... و امرای آنجائی مقرر کرده اند که بعد از آمیختن بحضرت سلطان محمود میرسد همه اهتمام برآن خواهد بود که مهمات بصلح انجامد و از ملازمان حضرت ارشاد مآبی... را[236] همراه خود می برند و در خدمت کاری محبان تقصیر نخواهند کرد و بعضی سخنان را خدمت امیر شیخ بایزید بعز عرض خواهند رسانیدن حاکمند ظل عالی مدام و مستدام باد

417(423)[237]

The noble personage, great *amīr*, most just, most thoughtful, patron of the poor, invigorator of the weak, crown of the exalted state, Amīr Sayyid Ḥasan, May God give him success in what he loves and desires, secretly and openly, and may he be protected, in travel and at home, from other misfortunes, calamities, machinations, and frailties; and may he be preserved and [well-]regarded in [his] observance of the times [for prayer] and [his] fulfillment of obedience and worship. He will pass [through] the assemblies [*majālis-i manāzil*] with fine remembrance and recollection of [his] virtues in such a way that God most high may produce, from the hiding places of the unseen [*az makman-i ghayb*], a subtle [wonder] that would be the cause of yielding the attainment and realization of the branches and principles

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[234] Although it is unclear, this Shaykh Bāyazīd may be the younger brother of Sulṭān-Aḥmad Tambal, who served ᶜUmar-Shaykh Mīrzā (brother of Sulṭān-Aḥmad and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd). Bāyazīd served as governor of Akhsī; on Shaykh Bāyazīd, see TR, Persian text, 48a-48b, 64; English text, 72, 94; BN, 170.

[235] This is a fragment. see n. 231 for an explanation.

[236] The text is unclear.

[237] Letter nos. 393(399)-416(423) are those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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[of spiritual knowledge] in the fastest [possible] time.[238] Verily, He is the responsive Lord [*valī al-ijāba*].

Let him contemplate the greetings and prayers [*salām va duᶜā*] [of the] dervishes and expend his resolve in perfecting *ḥāl* and *māl*; and let him guard [his] time carefully [to prevent] idleness; and let him be careful to avoid wasting his time [on earthly pursuits]. Let him not neglect *muḥāsaba* [self-accounting] and *murāqaba* [self-examination], [but] [let him] guard the present through *murāqaba,* and remedy the past through *muḥāsaba*, and cultivate the future through firm resolve; and let him adhere to [observance] of the station of spiritual virtue in all states.[239] I will not go on at length. May [your] happiness be perpetual and success be your companion. Peace!

If time permits, may our dervish prayers be conveyed to the servitors of his honor the refuge of *amīr*-ship.[240]

The needy prayer-sayer, Muḥammad Tabādkānī

417(423)[241]

ذات شریف امیرکبیر اعدل اعقل مربی الفقرا و مقوی الضعفا تاج الدولتعالی امیر سید حسن وفقه الله تعالی لما یحب و یرضی فی السر والعلن در اسفار و احضار از سایر مکاره و آفات و مکاید و عاهات محفوظ باد و برعایت اوقات و توفیق طاعات و عبادات محفوظ و ملحوظ مجالس منازل بذکر جمیل و یاد مکارم اینچنین میگذرد که حق سبحانه و تعالی از مکمن غیب لطیفه که سبب حصول وصول و تحقق فروع و اصول تواند بود علی اقرب

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[238] This letter is a lesson to the addressee on perfecting the Sufi path, with a special emphasis on self-disclosure and the stations of the path. Tabādkānī refers to travel in the spiritual and earthly sense.

[239] Self-examination (*murāqaba*) is a central aspect of Sufi practice. For a discussion of the Naqshbandī practice, see Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen Über Die Naqsbandiyya*, 42, 44-46.

[240] This postscript is written on the right margin of the letter.

[241] Letter nos. 393(399)-416(423) are those of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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الاوقات میسر گرداند انه ولی الاجابة سلام و دعای
درویشانه مطالعه فرموده همت بر تکمیل حال و مال مصروف
دارند و اوقات را بتوزیع از تضییع نگاه دارند و از محاسبه و
مراقبه ذاهل نباشد زمان حال را بمراقبه نگاهبانی کنند و زمان
گذشته را بمحاسبه تدارك نمایند و زمان آینده را بعزم جزم معمور
دارند و رعایت مقام احسان در جمیع احوال التزام فرمایند
زیادت اطناب نرفت سعادت مستدام و توفیق رفیق باد و اسلام

الفقیر الداعی محمد تبادکانی

ملازمان حضرت امارت مآبی ایالت ایابی را اگر در وقت گنجد
دعای درویشانه رسانند[242]

418(424)

His eminence, repository of justice, repository of magnanimity, the greatest and most just *amīr*, held dear to kings and *sulṭāns*, friend of the poor and needy, orderer of the state and world religion, Amīr Shaykh Aḥmad,[243] (May God most high give him success in good works and protect him from frailties and illness). May he contemplate the pious prayers and fragrant salutations. May the most noble encounter become possible and attainable in the best way, in the name of the Prophet of the Arabs and his noble and illustrious family.

It is reported that his eminence, the great and most learned Khwāja, the best of the ascetics and servants [of God], pilgrim to the two sanctuaries, Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥman Ziyāratgāhī, is a learned, virtuous, pious, and devout man; and the position of preacher at the *Ziyārātgāh* has been his hereditarily, passing from father to

[242] Postscript is written on the right margin.

[243] Amīr Shaykh Aḥmad may be Amīr Darvīsh Aḥmad, foster brother of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. See letter no. 269(274) .

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son, for two-hundred years. Now, unaware of this, they have dismissed him from the new cathedral mosque. This is extremely inappropriate and unfair. May he issue a reprimand [*tanabbuh*] to his eminence, the refuge of *amir*-ship, the repository of governance, (May [his] justice be extended and [his] virtue be perpetrated),[244] so that he may expend genuine efforts and bestow favor [to ensure] that he may be established in his original place [*dar markaz-i aṣlī*]. By all means, let him regard the settlement of this matter to be his own obligation, and let him not withhold any effort, for a great injustice has occurred in connection with this respected person. It is firmly hoped that with [your] noble consideration, [this situation] it will be corrected, God willing. I will not go on at length. May good fortune be [your] companion and [your] fortune be everlasting. Peace!

The needy prayer-sayer, Muḥammad Tabādkānī

418(424)

جناب معدلت مآب مکرمت ایاب امیر اعظم اعدل مقرب الملوك
والسلاطین محب الفقراء والمساکین نظام الدوله والدنیا والدین
امیر شیخ احمد وفقه الله تعالی للخیرات و حفظه من الآفات و
العاهات دعوات صالحه و تحیات فایحه مطالعه فرمایند ملاقات
اشرف بر وجه اکمل میسر و محصل باد بالنبی العربی وآله
الاکرمین الامجاد بعرض میرسد که جناب خواجه الاعظم
الاعلم عمدة الزهاد والعباد حاجی الحرمین خواجه نورالدین
عبدالرحمن زیارتگاهی مردی عالم فاضل صالح متقی است و
خطابت زیارتگاه دویست سال هست که اباعن جد موروثی
ایشان بوده است حالا نادانسته اورا از جامع جدید عزل کرده اند
بغایت نا مناسب و ناملایم افتاده است حضرت امارت مآبی

[244] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

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ایالت پناهی را عمت معدلته و خلدت منقبته تنبیه فرمایند تا مساعی جمیله مبذول فرموده التفات فرمایند که حق در مرکز اصلی قرار یابد البته کفایت این مهم در عهده خود دانسته اهتمام دریغ ندارند که با این عزیز حیفی قوی واقع شده رجا واثق که بالتفات شریف تدارك یابد انشاءالله تعالی زیاده اطناب نرفت توفیق رفیق و دولت مخلد باد والسلام

الفقیر الداعی محمد تبادکانی

419(425)

May God most high support him with increasing success in rendering assistance to the *faqīrs* and in helping the pious. And this prayer is the *virḍ* of the *faqīrs* and the *rajaz* of the pious.[245] Amen, O Lord of the worlds. The blessings of God be upon them and upon the other servitors around them. Peace! May the help [of God] be [your] companion and [your] fortune be everlasting. In the name of Muḥammad and his family.

The needy prayer-sayer, Muḥammad Tabādkānī

419(425)

ایده الله تعالی بمزید التوفیق فی اعانة الفقراء و اعانة الصالحین و هذا دعا ورد الفقراء و رجز الصالحین آمین رب العالمین و سلام الله علیهم و علی سائر الملازمین حوالیهم والسلام توفیق رفیق و دولت مخلد باد بمحمد و آله

الفقیر الداعی محمد تبادکانی

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[245] *Virḍ* refers to the litany in which the *dhikr* or any form of vocal prayer is pronounced in succession. *Rajaz* refers to the poetical meter. See Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen Über Die Naqsbandiyya*, 193.

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420(426)

May God most high make them successful in helping those who seek aid and in releasing those who are needy among the Muslims. After the recitation of prayers, it is brought to the attention of the stately … [246] that a group of perpetrators [*lavandān*] has spilled blood on the night of ʿId. It is said that they have confessed that the bloodshed had taken place in our house. [This letter is a] request for the servitors to render the favor of making an investigation so that the truth may be established. Since there was [full] confidence in the diligence of the servitors, no further emphasis has been needed. May the help [of God] be [your] consort and [your] fortune be everlasting.

The needy prayer-sayer, Muḥammad Tabādkānī

420(426)

وفقهم الله تعالی لاعانة المستغیثین و اباحة الفقراء المسلمین
بعد اداء الدعا بعرض دولت … [247] میرسد که جمعی لوندان در
شب عید خونی کرده اند و چنین میگویند که اعتراف نموده اند که
این خون در خانه ما واقع شده است عرض که ملازمان التفات
فرموده تفحص فرمایند که حق در مرکز قرار یابد چون بر ضبط
ملازمان اعتماد بود زیاده مبالغه نرفت توفیق رفیق و دولت
مخلد باد والسلام

الفقیر الداعی محمد تبادکانی

[246] One word is unclear.
[247] One word is unclear.

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421(427)

He is the Provider!

May his certitude [*taḥqīq*] increase and his fortune be extended to the [Muslim] community, the world, and the faith in support of Islam and the Muslims.[248] After the performance of required prayers, it is reported that formerly the cultivation of [the fields] of the hamlet [*zirāᶜat-i mawżaᶜ*] of Gavāja(?),[249] with the approval of the great descendant of a Khwāja, Khwāja ... [250] Fażl Allāh and the effort of his servitors, had come to belong to [*taᶜalluq*] the dervishes. Recently, that [arrangement] has been suspended.[251] No reason [for this] was made apparent. Never [before] has there been negligence by his [Fażlallāh's] servitors in carrying out the affairs of this side. On the part of the *faqīrs*, extremely careful consideration was always taken [by them], and the affairs of other people were also satisfactorily handled through their effort. Apparently I received training from the unseen world so that no room would remain in [my] mind for the affairs of this world, and [so that] in manifest [*ẓāhir*] and nonmanifest [*bātin*] affairs, [I] would turn entirely in the direction of [the meaning of the *āyat*], "He is the First and the Last, the Manifest and Nonmanifest."[252] I will not go on at length. May good fortune be [your] consort and [your] fortune be everlasting. Peace! He is Sufficient!

The needy prayer-sayer, Muḥammad Tabādkānī

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[248] In the Sufi sense, *taḥqīq* refers to verification of the knowledge of revealed law through "unveiling and direct vision." William Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 167-68. *Tawfīq*, it follows, would refer to the success granted by God in the accomplishment of that verification.

[249] Only part of the name is legible. The village might read as "Gavāja," or "Kavāja," but to our knowledge there is no such place name. Since Muḥammad Tabādkānī was a resident of Herat it is probable that the village was located in the Herat region. It is also possible that the village is Karūcha, which is clearly read as such in letter 423(419). However, in 423(429) Karūcha is referred to as *qarya* (village) rather than *mawżaᶜ* (hamlet).

[250] Part of the name is unclear.

[251] Although it is difficult to ascertain based on the paucity of information provided, there is no evidence that *ta'alluq* designates ownership. It may be that the cultivation of the land, and possibly its administration, had come through an established customary relationship with the Khwāja, to be carried out by the Sufis in the region. That relationship most likely included some benefit in kind.

[252] Qur'ān, 57:3. The author left out part of the Qur'ānic verse.

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421(427)

هو المغنی

زید تحقیقه و دام توفیقه علاءالملة والدنیا والدین عونااللاسلام والمسلمین بعد اداء لازم الدعا مرفوع آنکه سابقا زراعت موضع گواجه [؟] باستصواب خواجه زاده اعظم خواجه...[253] فضل الله و سعی ملازمان ایشان تعلق بدرویشان گرفته بود درین ایام فتوری بآن راه یافته بود هیچ سببی ظاهر نشد از ملازمان ایشان هرگز تقصیری در مهمات اینجانب واقع نبود همیشه جانب فقراء باقصی الغایه رعایت میفرموده اند و مهمات مردم دیگر نیز باهتمام ایشان کفایت می شده ظاهرا این فقیر را تربیت غیبی بوده که بجهت امور دنیا خاطر را بجائی وابستگی نماند و در امور ظاهر و باطن توجه کلی بجانب هوالاول والآخر [والظاهر][254] والباطن باشد زیادت اطناب نرفت توفیق رفیق و دولت مؤبد باد والسلام هوالکافی

الفقیر الداعی محمد تبادکانی

422(428)

He!

Let the supplicatory prayers and benedictions to the brother in religion, the compendium of beautiful virtues in an axial and praiseworthy way, (May God most high give him success in all kinds of good

[253] Part of the name is unclear.

[254] Not in the original; the meaning is implied.

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works and charitable deeds), be accepted; it is submitted to [his] illuminated mind, (May his glory be perpetuated), that of the amount that was sent for the travel expenses of the dervishes, the sum of 600 dinars has reached the dervishes. Darvīsh Maḥmūd Shāh[255] has the other 400 dinars. Let him try to arrange a way to send it so that it may reach the dervishes in the hands of the bearer of this letter, Darvīsh Ḥājjī Muḥammad Razza'ī. We are waiting for it.

The servant of the needy and the poor, Sūfī ᶜAlī

422(428)

هو

وفقه الله تعالی بانواع الخیرات والمبرات برادر دینی جامع فضائل جمیله قطبا محمد ارا دعوات و تحیات نیازمندانه قبول فرموده معروض رای منیر میگردد دام عزه که از وجه که از جهت خرج راه درویشان ارسال فرموده بودید مبلغ ششصد دینار واصل درویشان شده و چهارصد دینار دیگررا درویش محمود شاه دارند سعی فرموده نوعی سازند که ارسال فرمایند که واصل درویشان شود بدست حامل رقعه درویش حاجی محمد رَزّیی که بجهت آن منتظریم

خادم الفقراء والمساکین صوفی علی

[255] When Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī discusses the five years that Khwāja Aḥrār spent in Herat as a young man he mentions that Khwāja Aḥrār used to visit Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn ᶜUmar, and that two times the brother of Fīrūz Shāh, Mīr Maḥmūd Shāh came. It is not clear whether this is the same Maḥmūd Shāh mentioned in this letter. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 401, for a discussion of Khwāja Aḥrār's visitation.

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423(429)

He is the Satisfier!

May [his] fortune not disappear from the heavens of [His] Majesty.

[To my] noble, fortunate son, the refuge of *amīr*-ship, of exalted dominion, the friend of God, the Victorious.[256] After the performance of the customs observed by devoted dervishes, it is submitted that on this side a woman, a virtuous *sayyid*a of noble birth, has a legal matter [*muhimm-i sharᶜī*] pertaining to a group [of people] in the village of Karūcha [*qarya-yi Karūcha*].[257] She is unable to resist that group. If you show generosity and you assist her in such a way that her legal matter is resolved in accordance with the immaculate Sharī'a it will be the cause for the increase of [your] fortune in both worlds. May [your] exalted shadow be extended with the sacredness of Muḥammad and his glorious family.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

423(429)

هوالکافی

لازال علی فلك الاجلال طالعه

فرزند ارجمند سعادت مند امارت مآب ایالت سمی ولی الله الغالب بعد از تقدیم مراسم مخلصانه درویشانه بعز عرض

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[256] The author is writing to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, using the epithet of ᶜAlī, as in other letters addressed to him. The reference to Navā'ī as son implies that Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn is much older that he.

[257] This is possibly the same woman referred to in letter no. 456(462a,b). Karūcha, which was located in the *vilāyat* of Shāfilān, south of Herat, was known for its vineyards and gardens, especially its apple and other fruit trees. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū notes that Karūcha had many cultivated fields (*mazāriᶜ*). Isfizārī also mentions the cultivation of trees, especially fruits, the fields, its well known hot springs, many houses, quarries (lead and iron), and excellent climate. See Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ed. and trans. by D. Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit*, pt. 2, 36; Isfizārī, *Rawżat al-jannāt*, v. 1, 104-05.

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میرساند که درین صوب ضیعیفه سیده صالحه بزرگ زاده بجمعی
در قریه کروچه مهم شرعی دارد و بآن جماعت مقاومت
نمی تواند کرد اگر کرم نموده امداد نمایند بنوعی که بموجب
شریعت مطهره مهم مشارالیها بقطع رسد موجب ازدیاد دولت
دارین خواهد بود ظل عالی مبسوط باد بحرمة محمد و آله
الامجاد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

424(430)

The refuge of *amīr*-ship!

After dervish prayers [to you] … . [it is] stated to your honor that the son of *mawlānāzada* Zayn al-Dīn Abā [sic] Bakr has a close relatonship with me.[258] In Herat he is engaged in the study of religious sciences [*ʿulūm-i dīn*]. It has become known that, because of scantiness of income, he is unable to study. Because [his] honor is … [259] [a descendant] of *ʿulamā* and *faqīrs*, the expectation is that the servitors will be ordered to attend to his situation so he can engage in his studies at peace. This *faqīr* shall be grateful and it will not be overlooked by God. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

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[258] One word is unclear; "Abū Bakr" is written as "Abā Bakr." In one of his letters ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī writes (for a second time) about a document that was sent by Khwāja Nāṣir al-Dīn, whom he names as a descendant of the Herat shaykh, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāyabādī. See *Pis'ma avtografi*, letter no. 368(374), 112, fol. 79. On Tāyabādī, see *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 498-501.

[259] One word is unclear.

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424(430)

امارت پناها

بعداز دعوات درویشانه بعز... [260] شریف میرساند که فرزند مولانا زاده زین الدین ابابکر را با این فقیر نسبت تمام واقع است و در هراة بتحصیل علوم دینی مشغول اند چنین معلوم شد که بواسطه قلت معاش از تحصیل باز می مانند و چون آن جناب... [261] علما و فقرا اند توقع آنست که ملازمان را فرمایند که اهتمام بحال ایشان نمایند که بفراغت بتحصیل مشغول توانند بود این فقیر ممنون است و عندالله ضایع نخواهد بود والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

425(430a)

He is the Generous!

O repository of son-ship, O comfort of the sincere friend, may God most high support you with eternal, divine assistance!

After the statement of fragrant perfume-scented greetings and supplications radiant with happiness, it is reported that the bearers of this letter are relatives of mine and reside in the *vilāyāt* of Ṭabas.[262] For some time a person named Mawlānā Junayd, who [works] in their storehouse, has been a cause for trouble and is engaged in

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[260] One word is unclear. The standard phrase reads بعز عرض.

[261] One word is unclear.

[262] Ṭabas is a *bulūk* (district) of the *vilāyat* of Quhistān in Khurāsān. See D. Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit*, part 2, 213; Isfizārī, *Rawżāt -al jannāt*, part 1, 327-28.

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serious strife with these persons. He seeks to do whatever he can to cause such losses, and he is causing them all kinds of harm, unjustly and corruptly. It is hoped from the favor of [your excellency], the comfort of friends, that such an order be issued of his Majesty, the Supreme Khāqān of Solomonic rank [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], ([May God] extend his rule),[263] and command the servitors to ensure [that] when they have resolved to depart, no one should bother them or their households [*kūchhā-yi īshān*], so that they may safely [bring] themselves to the capital, Herat. There shall be much reward from God and gratitude from the people. Peace!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

425(430a)

هوالکریم

ولدی مآبا و مخلص نوازا ایدکم الله تعالی بتائیداته الربانیه الصمدانیه

بعد از رفع تحیات فایحات لایحات و دعوات ساطعات باقبال انها آنکه دارندگان رقعه از خویشان این فقیراند ساکن ولایت طبس و مولانا جنید نام شخصی که در خزانه ایشان می باشد چند وقتی شد که سرکشی ساخته و با این مردم بنیاد منازعتی نهاده و مراوده آنچه می تواند جهت این شقیقتی ها می سازد و باینها ناحق و باطل انواع خسارتها میرساند امیدوار از الطاف مخلص نوازی می باشد که نشان حضرت اعلی خاقانی سلیمان مکانی [خلدت سلطانه][264] عنایت فرموده ملازمان را فرمایند که حاصل کنند چون بر عزیمت جلا شده اند که کسی مزاحم ایشان و کوچهای

[263] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[264] Written on the right margin.

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ایشان نگردد تا بسلامت خود را بدارالملك هراة رسانند عند الله
اجر بسیار است و عند الناس شکر بسیار والسلام

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

426(431)

God is the Lord of good fortune!

May God most high assist you along the Straight Path!

It is brought to the honor [of your attention] that the following is to be made known: his eminence, the accomplished *mawlānāzada*, Ra'īs al-Dīn Aḥmad, is occupied with lessons and studying with the utmost diligence, and has repented from forbidden things [*manāhī*]. Many trustworthy *ᶜulamā'* and learned men have said, "The foundation of knowledge [*qāᶜida-yi ᶜilmī*] which we obtain from his teaching we do not find from anyone [else] in the city."[265] They also say that his situation, as is proper, is not known to the grandees of the state. The expectation is that [you] will ascertain his situation and, if it appears advisable, bring it to the royal attention, and [that you will] arrange it so that he may freely devote his mind to study; for he is in the utmost poverty, has many debts, and does not have books or means for study. It is clear that [this help] serves to increase otherworldly merit. May fortune be favorable!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

426(431)

الله ولی التوفیق

ایدکم الله تعالی تائیدا للصراط المستقیم

بعز انها میرساند که معلوم فرموده باشند که جناب مولانا زاده

[265] In the original manuscript the word appears as *fāᶜida*, but should be read as *qāᶜida*.

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فضل آثار رئیس الدین احمد بجد تمام بدرس و مطالعه مشغولند و از مناهی تائب شده اند و جمع کثیر از معتمدان علما و فضلا گفتند که آن قاعد[266] علمی که از درس او می یابیم در شهر از کسی نمی یابیم و نیز میگویند که حال او کماینبغی بر ارکان دولت ظاهر نیست توقع که تحقیق حال او فرمایند و بعزض همایون اگر مصلحت باشد برسانند و نوعی سازند که بفراغ خاطر بمطالعه مشغول شود که در کمال فقراست و قرض بسیار دارد و کتب و اسباب مطالعه ندارد مقرر است که مزید درجات اخری است دولت مساعد باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

427(432)

He!

May God most high extend the shadow of his favor over all [Muslims] of the [two] worlds!

After the presentation of customary greetings marked by sincerity and impressed with affection, it is submitted to his eminence, the refuge of governance, the repository of compassion, the dearest, illustrious, and fortunate son, namesake of the victorious Lion of God,[267] (May his power and authority be prolonged),[268] that the bearer of this letter is from among the pious and learned men. A weakness has afflicted him and he has become feeble. He has some matters [*muhimmāt*] that he shall bring to the attention of the servitors. If an

[266] Written فاعده.

[267] The title used for ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī is *khidmat-i ayālat āyāb, marḥama āthār, farzand-i aᶜazz-i arjmand-i saᶜādatmand, samī Asad Allāh al-Ghālib.*

[268] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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effort can be made toward the satisfactory [resolution] of his affairs, it is hoped that it shall serve to increase the fortune and happiness of both worlds [for you]. May good fortune be [your] companion, in the name of Muḥammad and his glorious family.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

427(432)

هو

مدالله تعالی ظلال عاطفته علی رؤس العالمین

بعد از تقدیم مراسم اخلاص شعار محبت آثار معروض خدمت ایالت آیاب مرحمت آثار فرزند اعز ارجمند سعادت مند سمی اسد الله الغالب [زیدت دولته و مکنته][269] می دارد که دارنده رقعه از زمره صلحا و عالمان است و ضعفی مشارالیه را عارض شده است و عاجز گشته و بعضی مهمات دارد که بعرض ملازمان خواهد رسانید اگر در کفایت مهمات مشارالیه اهتمام نمایند امید است که موجب ازدیاد دولت و سعادت دو جهانی خواهد بود توفیق رفیق باد بمحمد وآله الامجاد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

428(433)

He!

O repository of son-ship in sincere devotion, [who is] father-like in character and steadfastness, may God most high make [you] successful, through divine favor, as a refuge and asylum for the people of God.

[269] Written on the right margin.

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After delivering the pages of exuberant greetings and the presentation of desire-inducing prayers, [it is stated that] the bearer [of this letter] appears to be a man of utmost goodness. A great multitude has reported on his goodness and his seriousness in his acquiring knowledge of sciences.The *mawlānāzāda* is from Badakhshān and is very serious and is of the progeny of the great scholars [*ʿulamā'-i kibār*] and a descendant of the ruler of Badakhshān [*malik-i Badakhshān*]. At this time, because he is fully engaged in studying the sciences, he has been unable to earn a livelihood. He has [been forced to] borrow a certain sum after having sold some of the books he had. Now some effort on his behalf would be of great virtue and [would serve] the prosperity of the state and upholding of the Sharīʿa. Since he comes from such a family which has been adorned with these qualities, and particularly [since] they were adorned by "Poverty is my pride" and embellished by "Whoever loves me, let him honor my guest,"[270] it is hoped that the servitors are given the order to make some effort on his behalf and arrange for him to be released in some way from these creditors [*qarż-khwāhān*], for "God helps his servant as long as the servant renders help to his Muslim brother."[271] Since the magnanimity and favor of your honor to the people of God is certain, no further presumptuousness is made [by me]. May [your] fortune be everlasting and strengthened, in the [name of] the Prophet [Muḥammad] and his glorious family.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

428(433)

هو

ولدی مآبا واخلاصا والدی اخلاقا و ارتصاصا وفقه الله تعالی بالعنایة السرمدیة لاهل الله معاذا و ملاذا

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[270] This is very close to a widespread *ṣalīḥ ḥadīth*, found in no. 15 in al-Nawawī's *Forty Ḥadīths*, and originally in both al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, as well as many other collections. *Mawsūʿat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf*, CD-ROM, Ḥarf & Sakhr Co. (Cairo, 1991-95, 1996).

[271] Almost identical to a famous *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*, no. 36, in Nawawī's *Forty Ḥadīths* and derived originally from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and numerous other sources. *Mawsūʿat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (CD-ROM, Cairo).

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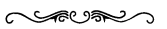
بعد از تبلیغ صحف تحیات شوق آمیز و تحف دعوات اشتیاق
انگیز انها آنکه دارنده مردی بغایت نیك می نماید و جمعی کثیر
بر نیکی وجد او در تحصیل علوم اخبار کردند که مولانا زاده
بدخشی است و جد بسیار دارد و بقیه علما کبار و سلف ملك
بدخشان است و درین فرصت اورا بجهة اشتغال تمام
بتحصیل علوم از کسب معاش فارغ بوده و مبلغی قرض شده
بعد از آنکه کتب داشته فروخته اکنون اهتمام بحال او خیری
عظیم مینماید و آبادانی ملك و شریعت آرائی چون از خاندانی
است که متحلی باین معانی بوده اند بتخصیص که بزیور الفقر
فخری و حلیه من احبنی فلیکرم ضیفی متحلی است امیدواری
آنکه ملازمان را فرمایند که در باره او اهتمام نموده چنین سازند
که ازین قرض خواهان نوعی خلاص یابد که ان الله فی عون
العبد مادام العبد فی عون اخیه السلم چون شفقت و عنایت
مقرر بود زیاده گستاخی نرفت[272] آنحضرت نسبت با اهل [الله]
دولت مؤبد و مؤید باد بالنبی و آله الامجاد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین



[272] The following text is written on the right margin.

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429(434)

He is the Beneficent!

The repository of son-ship, refuge and asylum [for] the people of God, may [your] blessings not diminish in clarity and benefit for the people of God![273]

After the conveying of thousands of sorts of pious, enduring, and fragrant prayers, it is announced that the bearer [of these] pages of devotion, who is one of the distinguished descendants of the martyred lord and master of the people, Abī[sic]'l Qāsim Samarqandī [*awlād-i amjād-i khudāvand-i sayyid-i anām, Abū'l Qāsim al-Shahīd Samarqandī*],[274] (May his secret be sanctified), and who, notwithstanding the honor [referred to in the *āyat*], "Their father had been a righteous man,"[275] was [also] adorned with the ornaments of knowledge, gentility, propriety, fortitude, and generosity, has in recent times followed the path of good will and devotion with respect to the servitors of his Majesty, and will [continue to] do so. No one, however, has brought his situation to the attention of the servitors of his Majesty, Khāqān of Solomonic station, (May God extend his dominion and sovereignty).[276] Now, since he is always hard-pressed [*maẓīq*] in Herat, he wishes to leave his household [*kūch*] in Samarqand, which is his native country, and to go to Gulbarga where he has traveled earlier and established certain of his [business] affairs.[277] [The request

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[273] This letter is likely to have been written to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī since Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn does not use the customary titulature for ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. There is also evidence of a history of correspondence between Jāmī and the *Malik al-tujjār* in India, which is detailed below.

[274] It is not clear who the martryred Abū'l-Qāsim Samarqandī is. An Abū'l-Qāsim Ḥakīm Samarqandī is mentioned several times in Muḥammad Samarqandī's *Qandiyya*, ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran), 32, 35, 49, 193.

[275] Qur'ān, 18:82.

[276] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[277] Gulbarga was the Deccan capital of the Muslim Bahmanid Sulṭānate. Although the Bahmanids were continually at war with the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar to the south, the Bahmanid court was an opulent one in the late fifteenth century. The name of the Malik al-Tujjār, who was chief minister under the Bahmanid ruler, Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, is Maḥmūd ibn Shaykh Muḥammad al-Gilānī, known as Khwājā Maḥmūd Gāvān. Maḥmūd Gāvān is the compiler of the *Riyāż al-Inshāᶜ*, MS IVANRUz no. 283. There are four of his letters in the *Riyāż al-Inshāᶜ* that he wrote to Jāmī, one of which is an invitation to Jāmī to visit India. For Jāmī's letters to Maḥmūd Gāvān, see ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nāmahā-yi dastanvīs-i Jāmī*, compilation and commentary by Asom Urunbaev and Asror Rakhmonov (Dushanbe,

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is] that [you] issue a travel certificate [*khaṭṭ-i rāhī*], for the sake of his household, so that no one shall trouble them, as far as Samarqand, and that [you] may grant a recommendation on his behalf to the *Malik al-tujjār*, who is from among the faithful and sincere friends of his Majesty, so that efforts may be expended regarding his affairs, since he is intending to travel [first] to the Ḥijāz. It is requested that [you] will help him attain his goal, and command the servitors of his Majesty that assistance should be given to him repeatedly, for the sake of the spiritual being of the lord of prophets [Muḥammad].

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

429(434)

هوالکریم

ولدی مآبا و اهل الله ملاذا و معاذا لا زال توفیقکم لاهل الله مفادا و مستفادا

بعه از تبلیغ صنوف الوف دعوات صالحات باقیات فایحات انها آنکه حامل صحیفة الاخلاص که از اولاد امجاد خداوند سید انام ابی القاسم الشهید سمرقندی است قدس سره و با وجود شرف و کان ابوهما صالحا متحلی بحلیه علم و حلم و صلاح و مروت و سخا آراسته نمود که درین مدت طریقه دولتخواهی و اخلاص نسبت با ملازمان آنحضرت مرعی داشته و خواهد داشت احوال اورا کسی بعرض ملازمان حضرت

1989), letter nos. 386, 215-221; 387, 221-228; 413, 267-268; 424, 680-684. For the letters of Maḥmūd Gāvān, see the *Riyāż al-Inshā'*, fols. 15a-17b; 134b-137a; 147b-150a; 194a-196a. Jāmī sent Maḥmūd Gavān a copy of his *Nafaḥāt al-uns*. See letter no. 413, *Namahā*. On the Bahmanids, see *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3, *The Turks and Afghans*, ed. by W. Haig (Cambridge University Press, 1958), 396-410.

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خاقانی سلیمان مکانی [خلد ملکه و سلطانه][278] نه رسانیده و
حالا میخواهد که چون همیشه در هرات مضیق است کوچ
خودرا بسمرقند که وطن ماء لوف ایشانست گذاشته و خود
بجانب گل برگه برود که پیشتر آنجا رفته بوده و بعض مهمات او
آنجا موقوف است که جهة کوچ او خط راهی که کسی مزاحم
ایشان نگردد تا سمرقند و اورا سفارشی بملك التجار که از جمله
معتقدان و مخلصان آنحضرت است جهت او ارزانی فرمایند که
در مهمات او مساعی مبذول فرموده چون عازم حجاز است
ملتمس آنکه مرام اورا بمقصد رسانیده ملازمان حضرت را
فرمایند [که] امداد نموده جهت روحانیت سید الانبیا مرار دهند
عندالله اجر جمیل مرجو است

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

430(435)

May God most high perpetuate his fortune in the garden of justice and beneficence!

Caravans of sincere supplications and special praises are submitted and presented to his honor the dearest, illustrious, fortunate son, namesake of the victorious Walī Allāh [ʿAlī], (May his fortune, power, and prosperity be increased).[279] Day and night [I am] occupied with prayers for the continuation of [his] fortune. May [they] receive acceptance.

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[278] Written on the right margin.

[279] The *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

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After this, it is submitted that the bearer of this letter of devotion [*ruqᶜat al-ikhlāṣ*], Mawlānā Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Imām, is a *sayyid*, an *azīz*, a pious man and a memorizer of the Qur'ān, a seeker of knowledge, and a pilgrim. It has been heard from the trustworthy and just ones that he is also in need. Previously, his noble name had been recorded in the tax register [*dar daftar-i-madadī-yi nāmbardār*].[280] After realizing that this was inappropriate [*munāsib*], [his] associates [*shurakāᶜ*] had rectified it. However, [his] name remained recorded. Now the *amīrs* and authorities [*mubāshirān-i amr*] once again determined that he does not have the capability and means of [paying] that. If [you] would show kindness and see to it that his name may be removed from the register, it shall be the cause for the

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[280] The religious class was not exempted from payment of the *nāmbardār*, which was a capitation tax considered to be contrary to the Sharīᶜa. On the *nāmbardār* tax and references to it in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, see Asom Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografy iz Al'boma Navoi - istochnik k izucheniiu nalogooblazheniia v khorasane XV vv," 133-135. In the Timurid period the *nāmbardār* tax was levied on the population to support the army during military campaigns. ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī uses them synonymously with *zar-i lashkar, Maṭlaᶜ-i saᶜdayn*, 1250. References in the letters of Jāmī suggest that it was an annual monetary tax in Khurāsān that burdened the peasants. N. Makhmudov notes that when Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad was appointed *vazīr* by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā for the second time in 1487, he insisted that the Sulṭān issue an order to abolish the annual *nāmbardār* monetary tax and restore it to its original intention as a monetary levy for the military. For a reference to Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad's request, see N. Makhmudov, *Iz istorii zemel'nykh otnoshenii v srednei azii v XIV-XV vv.* (Dushanbe, 1966), 29-33 (cited by Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografy iz Al'boma Navoi," 135). Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad had served as an official in the chancellery of Abū Saᶜīd, then as *vazīr* of Sulṭān-Aḥmad's son, Mīrzā Muḥammad Sulṭān, until Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā called him to serve at the Herat court. On Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad, see Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform and its Opponents," 132. This was part of the Islamizing policy of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā in the late fifteenth-century. For a discussion of the centralizing reforms of Majd al-Dīn and the complex court politics that resulted from them, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform and its Opponents, 151. Khwāja Aḥrār also makes a petition for release from the *nāmbardār* tax in letter no. 599(506). The *nāmbardār* is referred to as *nāmbardār*, *madadī nāmbardār*, or simply *madadī* in letter no. 408(414) of Jāmī. For a discussion of the *tamgha*, see Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografy iz Al'boma Navoi," 133-34; N. Mahmudov, *Iz istorii zemel'nykh*, 85-88. For the letters of Jāmī concerning this tax, see letter nos. 129(134), 172(177), 191(196), 226(231), 240(256), 289(292), and 504(510) in *Pis'ma-avtografy*. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the economic and political issues concerning this tax. For Timurid references to the term, see ᶜAbd al-Razzāq b. Isḥāq al-Samarqandī, *Maṭlaᶜ al-saᶜdayn*, 1250; Faṣīh al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khwāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣiḥī*, ed. D. Yusupova (Tashkent, 1980), 127, 128, 170; Isfizārī, *Rawżat al-jannāt*, 260.

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increase [of happiness] of the two worlds. May the fortune of the two worlds increase.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

430(435)

خلدالله تعالی فی ریاض العدل والاحسان دولته

قوافل دعوات اخلاص شعار و رواحل مدحات متخصص آثار بخدمت فرزند اعز ارجمند سعادتمند سمی ولی الله الغالب [زید دولته و مکنته و توفیقه][281] معروض و مرفوع میدارد و شب و روز بدعاگوئی دوام دولت مشغول است باجابت مقرون باد بعده بصر انها میرساند که دارنده رقعه الاخلاص مولانا نظام الدین عبدالرحیم امام مرد سید و عزیز و صالح و حافظ کلام الله و طالب علم و حاجی است واز ثقات و عدول مسموع شده که فقر نیز دارد و سابقا اسم شریف ایشان در دفتر مددی نام بردار نوشته بودند و بعد از اطلاع این که مناسب نبوده شرکا تدارك آن کرده بودند و همچنان نام مثبت مانده و حالا نیز تحقیق فرموده اند امرا و مباشران امر که استعداد و استظهار آن ندارند اگر کرم نموده نوعی التفات فرمایند که نام ایشان از دفتر قلع کرده شود موجب ازدیاد [سعادت][282] دارین خواهد بود دولت دو جهانی در ترقی باد

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[281] Written on the right margin.

[282] Interpretative insertion.

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After the expression of sincere greetings and devoted dervish prayers, it is stated to the servitors of his honor the refuge of guidance and repository of governance, dearest and most generous, illustrious, and fortunate son, (May the order [of state] not diminish),[283] that the bearer of the letter, Shaykh Aḥmad, is a poor man, and has an important matter to present to the servitors [of your honor]. If a favor is bestowed and kindness is given in such a manner that the aforementioned does not incur trouble and his affair receives the needed [attention], it is hoped that it will be the cause for an increase in fortune in the two worlds. May [your] fortune and felicity [in] the two worlds increase and multiply. May the shadow of [your] blessings and magnanimity shine over the heads of the Muslims eternally.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

431(436)

بعد از تحف تحیات صادقانه و دعاء درویشانه مخلصانه بعز عرض ملازمان خدمت هدایت مآبی ایالت ایابی فرزند اعز اکرم ارجمند سعادتمند میگردد [لازال نظاما][284] که دارنده رقعه شیخ احمد مرد فقیر است و عرضی مهم بملازمان دارد اگر عنایت ارزانی داشته التفات ارزانی فرمایند بنوعی که تفرقه بمشارالیه نرسد و مهم وی کفایت شود امید است که موجب ازدیاد دولت دارین خواهد بود دولت و سعادت دو جهانی در تزاید و ترقی باد و ظل عاطفت و شفقت علی رؤس المسلمین تابنده و پاینده باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

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[283] Niẓām also alludes to the name, Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī Shīr. The *duʿā* is written on the right margin of the letter.

[284] Written on the right margin.

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432(437)

May he be elevated to the highest stages of glory and the foremost stations of virtue!

It is submitted to [that] station of refuge of the poor [*mawqif-i masākīn panāh*] that the bearer of this letter of devotion is a pious man and a needy *faqīr*. In addition to that, he has a family and has become a debtor. He is the muezzin at Fīrūzābād mosque in Qāyin,[285] but does not have a stipend [*vaẓīfa*]. It is expected from [your] unfailing generosity that he be supported, like other *faqīrs*, with a bare subsistence [*sadd-i ramaq*] through a *vaqf* or some other source. He says, "I have 1 1/2 *jarībs* of cultivated land [*zirāᶜat*], but contrary to the legal ruling [*khilāf-i ḥukm*] they have made [that land] subject to the issuance of tax checks [*ḥavālāt mikonand*].[286] If the administrators [*khuddām*] also remedy that [situation], it shall be the cause for the increase of the means of happiness in the two worlds.[287] Whoever is for God, God is for Him. May the shadow of favor over the populace be eternal.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

432(437)

اعتلی علی اعلی مدارج العز و اولی مدارج الخیر

معروض موقف مساکین پناه آنکه حامل رقعه اخلاص مرد صالح

و فقیر و محتاج است و علاوه آن معیل و مدیون شده و در

---

[285] Qāyin is a small town (*qaṣaba*) in Quhistān. See D. Krawulsky, ed. and trans., *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit*, Part II, 158; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Pt. I, 48.

[286] On the *ḥavālāt* in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, see A. Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografi iz Al'boma Navoi," 137-138. *Ḥavālat* and *barāt* are synonymously used as revenue assignments or tax checks issued by the state for civil officials. They were levied on the populace as a form of extraordinary assessment. For a discussion of *ḥavālāt*, see I.P. Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie i agrarnye otnosheniia*, 373-374; N.V. Pigulevskaia et. al., *Istoriia Irana s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1958), 240-42.

[287] Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn is addressing someone in the *dīvān* who has the authority to make such a decision.

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مسجد فیروزآباد قاین مؤذن است و وظیفه ندارد متوقع از
عاطفت بی دریغ آنکه اورا چون سایر فقیران بسد رمقی از وقف
یا محل دیگر محظوظ فرمایند و میگویند که یك جریب و نیم
زراعت دارم که خلاف حکم حوالات میکنند اگر خدام آنرا نیز
تدارك فرمایند موجب ازدیاد مواد سعادات دو جهانی است من
کان لله کان الله له ظلال عاطفت بر مفارق انام مدام باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

433(438)

He is the Opener!

His eminence, fortunate, worthy, compassionate son, May God most high prolong him in the spreading of the noble Sharīᶜa through the fortune of his rule.

May he accept [our] sincere prayers and salutations and direct [his] mind to ordering the affairs of state [*niẓām-i umūr-i dawlat*] and knowing the happiness of the two worlds. After this, it is submitted that there are many *faqīrs* and worthy ones on this side who have emigrated from their homes and are engaged in seeking knowledge, and who have no source of income at all. Among the endowments [*awqāf*] on this side there is one *khānqāh* from which a stipend [*rātiba*] reaches them from time to time. In accordance with the Sharīᶜa of the holy Prophet [Muḥammad], (May the most excellent blessings and the most perfect salutations be upon him), these dervishes take precedence over outsiders [*ajnabī*] to use these endowments. If you would be so kind as to see fit to issue a royal order [*parvāna-yi ᶜināyat*] to the effect that what is spent from that edifice in the way of stipends and [on] travelers is spent on the aforementioned *faqīrs*, and so that the rights-holding lords [*arbāb-i istiḥqāq*] will not write the *barāt* [tax check] on that place for outsiders, it will be agreeable

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and praiseworthy to the Creator and the created.[288] The trustee [*mutavallī*] of this edifice, Mawlānā ᶜAyn al-Dīn Muḥammad, is among the students from this side.[289] When he refers to [your] servitors for any matter that is in conformity with the noble Sharīᶜa, if you will show favor, then it will be an addition to [your] other favors. May [God] keep all firmly on the Straight Path. He [God] is the one who listens. Peace be upon those who follow [His] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

433(438)

هوالفتاح

جناب فرزند دولتمند خليق شفيق ادام الله تعالى فى ترويج الشرع الشريف دولته [نظاما][290]

دعوات و تحيات وافيات قبول نموده خاطر متوجه نظام امور دولت و سعادت دارين شناسند بعد هذا معروض آنكه درين جانب فقيران و مستحقان بسيارند كه از اوطان خود هجرت نموده بطالب علمى مشغولند و از هيچ ممر دخل ندارند و از اوقاف اينجانب يك خانقاهست كه از آنجا احيانا راتبه بديشان ميرسد و بحسب شريعت حضرت مصطفى عليه افضل الصلوة و اكمل التحيات اين درويشان بصرف اين اوقاف از اجنبى اولى اند اگر

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[288] Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn is requesting a royal decree stipulating that the income of the endowment at the unnamed *khānqāh* be used as a stipend for those needy *faqīrs* who are engaged in study. He also asks that they be exempted from the *barāt*. It is unclear who the outsiders (*ajnabī*) are; Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn may be differentiating those persons who are studying at the *khanqāh* from those who are living in the village outside.

[289] This sentence suggests that Mawlānā ᶜAyn al-Dīn Muḥammad may be one of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Din's students.

[290] Written on the right margin.

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التفات فرموده مصلحت دانند پروانه عنایت فرمایند که آنچه از آن
بقعه صرف راتبه و صادر و وارد می شود مصروف فقرا مذکور
شود و ارباب استحقاق اجانب را بران جا براة ننویسند عند
الخالق والمخلوق مرضی و مستحسن خواهد بود و متولی این
بقعه مولانا عین الدین محمد از زمره طالب علمان اینجانب
است بهر مهم که موافق شرع شریف باشد چون بملازمان رجوع
نماید اگر التفات فرمایند ضمیمه سایر عواطف خواهد بود
همگنانرا بر صراط مستقیم مستقیم داراد انه سمیع الدعاء
والسلام علی من اتباع الهدی
العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

434(439)

He!

To the refuge of *amīr*-ship, May God most high extend [your] exalted grandeur.

After the presentation of dervish prayers, it is announced to [your] noble mind that you have assigned the matter of marriage contracts [*amr-ᶜuqūd-i ankiḥa*] in Gudāra[291] to someone; and for this reason, discord is making its way into the affairs of the people. May you be so kind as to bring it to [your] noble mind that in every village and quarter [*dar har qarya va maḥalla*] the *imām* and the *shaykh al-Islām* of that town or quarter conducts marriage contracts in accordance with the Sharīᶜa, and [that] since the official [*māᶜmūr*] in that quarter or village is knowledgeable, they should not entrust [it] specially to someone [else]. And make it the responsibility of the *qāżī* and *muḥtasib*

[291] Gudāra is a district (*bulūk*) in Khurāsān; see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit*, 90.

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of that place to be informed and to not allow any matter contrary to the law [*amr-i khilāf-i shar*ʿ] to occur. It shall be the cause for [attaining] fortune in the two worlds. Peace!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Generous

434(439)

هو

امارت مآبا ادام الله تعالی معالیه را

بعد از عرض ادعیه درویشانه انهاء رای شریف آنکه امر عقود انکحه گداره را بشخصی مخصوص کرده اید واز این جهت تفرقه باحوال مردم راه می یابد التفات نموده بعرض رسانند که در هر قریه و محله امام و شیخ الاسلام آن قریه و آن محله بوجه شرع عقد کنند چون ماء مور آن محله و قریه عالم است و مفوض بشخصی مخصوص نکنند و در عهده قاضی و محتسب آن موضع سازند که بر خبر بوده نگذارند که امر خلاف شرع واقع شود سبب دولت دوجهانی خواهد بود والسلام

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

435(440)

He!

May the sun of the heaven of divine favor, which is the companion of that son in the support of the *faqīrs*, rise in the constellation of, "May God help you with powerful help,"[292] and may the full moon

[292] Qur'ān, 48:3.

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of that lord of good fortune [the addressee] shine brightly and resplendently in assisting the poor from the zenith of, "It was a duty for us to aid the believers."[293]

After the sending of pious salutations [*tablīgh-i adᶜīya-i ṣāliḥa*] [it is stated that] the bearer of this letter of supplication is among the pious ones [*ṣulaḥā*] and one of the pupils and dervishes of this weak one [*zaᶜīf*]. He will submit an important matter to the servitors. The request is that, showing favor, [you] might issue a directive (*ishārat*) so that the request of that dervish might be satisfied. I trust that it will be the cause for the increase of fortune in the two worlds. May [your] high shadow be extended over all the dervishes.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

435(440)

هو

آفتاب سماء توفیق که رفیق آن فرزند است در اعانت فقرا از برج و ینصرك الله نصرا عزیزا طالع باد و بدر منیر آن صاحب دولت در نصرت مسکینان از اوج و کان حقا علینا نصرالمؤمنین ساطع و لامع بعد از تبلیغ ادعیه صالحه دارنده رقعه نیاز از صلحاست و از تلامذه و درویشان این ضعیف است جزوی مهم بر ملازمان عرض خواهند کرد التماس آنکه عنایت فرموده اشارت فرمایند که مهم آن درویش کفایت شود یقین که موجب ازدیاد دولت دوجهان خواهد بود سایه عالی بر مفارق درویشان ممدود باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

[293] Qur'ān, 30:47.

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436(441)

He!

God has servants whom He created to fulfill the needs!

O dearest, most noble, fortunate son of pleasing character and praiseworthy deeds, may your exaltedness in the world and in the religion not diminish, who has all things but does not have one like him, may [these] sincere prayers and genuine praises, offered out of pure conviction and an abundance of desire, be kindly accepted.

After the expression of pious prayers, it is submitted that the dearest brother, Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Murād, from long ago and down to the present, has observed and continues to observe the path of devotion and discipleship with the dervishes. It has become known that in recent times, he has experienced much distress and countless disappointments. Although the aforementioned and his ancestors were greatly honored and respected by *amīrs* and *sulṭāns,* (May their dominion be sustained), presently in the time of the conquering fortune [*dawlat-i qāhira*] and the pillars of the exalted state [*arkān-i dawlat-ᶜalīya*], that foundation has been obliterated and demolished. Now the aforementioned [gentleman] has turned his face toward the *qibla* of fortune of that fortunate one. Because of the purity of intention with regard to that son, it has become obligatory to report his situation [to you] and recommend him [to you]. It is requested and anticipated that, to the extent that [your] noble [character][294] and abundant kindness [are extended to] that son, [you] may put into practice the meaning of "To keep one's covenant is part of faith,"[295] distinguish him in your presence according to enduring practice, extend the shadow of [your] mercy over his situation, and let him benefit from the [rain-]cloud of your compassion in such a way that the sign of it may be witnessed and those old customs [*rusūm-i qadīm*] are revived. The dervishes too will be grateful and fulfill the duty of praying for good things. "That which is in the presence of God is the best for the righteous, and success is from the Almighty."[296] Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

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[294] The text reads سجیسه.

[295] This is the title of a *bāb* in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *Kitāb al-adab*, vol. 8, p. 22; ch. 23 in the Hilālī-Khān translation of al-Bukhārī.

[296] Qur'ān, 3:198.

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May he attend to what is in accordance with the holy Sharīᶜa, and nothing else.[297]

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

436(441)

هو

ان الله تعالی عبادا خلقهم لقضاء الحوایج

فرزند اعز اکرم دولتمند مرضی الخصال محمود الفعال [لازال علاءللدنیا و الدین][298] آنکه دارد همه چیزی و ندارد مانند دعوات مخلصانه و مدحات صادقانه مرفوع از خلوص عقیده و فرط اشواق بکرم قبول فرمایند بعد از عرض ادعیه صالحه معروض آنکه برادر اعز امیر ناصرالدین مراد از قدیم الایام الی هذا الیوم با درویشان طریقه اخلاص و ارادت مرعی داشته و می دارد و چنین معلوم شد که درین ازمنه تفرقه بسیار و انکسار بی شمار باحوال ایشان راه یافته است باآنکه جناب مشارالیه و آباء ایشان معزز و مکرم باعزاز و اکرام امرا و سلاطین اید ملکه می بوده اند و حالا در زمان دولت قاهره و ارکان دولت علیه آن قاعده مندرس و منهدم گشته اکنون جناب مشارالیه روی بقبله اقبال آن مقبل آورده بنابرخلوص نیت که بنسبت آن فرزند است واجب نمود صورت حال مشارالیه انها کردن و ایشانرا سپارش نمودن

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[297] This phrase is written in Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's handwriting on the right margin of the letter.

[298] Written on the upper right corner of the letter.

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ملتمس و متوقع آنکه چنانچه سجیه کریم و لطف عمیم آن فرزند
باشد مضمون آن حسن العهد من الایمان کار بسته بقاعده
مستمره ایشانرا بجانب خود مخصوص فرمایند وظلال اشفاق
براحوال ایشان گسترانند و از ابر رحمت خود بهره مند سازند
بوجهی که آثار آن مشاهده شود واحیاء آن رسوم قدیمه گردد
درویشان نیز منت دارند و بدعاء خیر حق گذارند وماعندالله
خیرللابرار والتوفیق من الله تعالی والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی
وآنچه موافق شریعة مطهره باشد اهتمام نمایند لاغیر[299]
العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

437(442)

He!

May God strengthen you [all] with His good fortune in fostering the learned and the pious!

Following the conveying of the formalities of [sincere] devotion, it is submitted to the consideration of the noble and fortunate son, the namesake of the Lion of God [ᶜAlī], the patron of the people of God, who is received [into] the hearts of the wise [*ᶜurafā'*], that the bearers of this letter of devotion, Mawlānā Shādī Muḥammad Awbahī and Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAlī, who are among the pious and are students, are living in very extreme poverty and want; and their worth is apparent.[300] If you would be so kind as to extend a favor so that their

[299] Written in Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's handwriting on the right margin.

[300] The addressee is ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. Mawlānā Shādī Muḥammad Awbahī may have been related to Mawlānā Abū Saᶜīd Awbahī, who was a disciple of Khwāja Aḥrār and a native of Awbāh, a village near Herat. Three letters of Abū Saᶜīd Awbahī, nos. 460(466), 461(467), and 462(468), are included in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt.*

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subsistence [*maᶜāsh*] might be taken care of, and so that they are able to freely pray for the perpetuation of [your] good fortune, it will increase [your] favor. May your perpetually enduring fortune be prepared in respect [for the Prophet] Muḥammad and his glorious descendants.[301]

Ibn Abbās, (May God be well-pleased with both of them), [said]: "The Messenger of God, (May God bless him and grant him peace), said: "Respect the *ᶜulamā,* for they are[302] the heirs of the prophets; whoever honors them honors God, (May He be glorified and exalted), and His Prophet, May his relation be the support of the *imām* in spreading [religion]).[303]

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

437(442)

هو

زادکم الله توفیقه فی تربیة العلماء والصلحاء

بعد از تبلیغ مراسم اخلاص معروض رای فرزند ارجمند
سعادتمند سمی اسدالله مربی اهل الله مقبول قلوب العرفا میگردد
که دارنده های رقعه الاخلاص مولانا شادی محمد اوبهی و
مولانا زین الدین علی که از زمره صلحا و طالب علم اند و بسیار
بسیار بفقر و فاقه میگذرانند و استحقاق ایشان واضح است اگر
عنایت ارزانی داشته بنوعی التفات ارزانی دارند که معاش ایشان
میسر گردد و بفراغت بدعاء دوام دولت مشغول توانند بود مزید
الطاف خواهد بود [دولت خلود پیوند مهیا باد بحرمت محمد و

[301] The *duᶜā* is written on the bottom right margin.

[302] The Arabic reads *fa'ntum*, "you are."

[303] The postscript is written above the letter at the top of the page.

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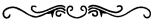
آله الامجاد][304]

الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين

عن ابن عباس رضى الله عنهما قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم اكرمو العلماء فانتم ورثه الانبياء فمن اكرمهم فقد اكرم الله عزوجل و رسوله رواه مسندا الامام فى الترغيب[305]



438(443, 445)

He!

His eminence, the refuge of *amīr*-ship, asylum of the populace, (May his justice thrive and may God most high extend the shadow of his benevolence over the heads of the poor). May the greetings and prayers from this side be accepted and considered. May the noble meeting be achieved in the best conditions.

After this, it is announced that Shaykhzāda Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn is among the descendants of the Shaykh al-Islām Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, (May God illuminate his grave).[306] The *imāms* have written in a *fatwā* that the *mutavallī* at the holy shrine of the Shaykh al-Islām must be dismissed; and as required by the *fatwā* of the *imāms* of the faith, (May God's satisfaction be upon them), the office of *mutavallī* for that [shrine] should go to the aforementioned Shaykhzāda Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn. The request is that when [it] goes to the aforementioned Shaykhzāda, in accordance with the noble law, [you will] make an effort and arrange for him to establish his right(s) in his own place. May you find abundant merit from God, and fine praise from humankind; and the matter is of high [importance].

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Generous[307]

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[304] Written on the bottom right margin.

[305] This postscript is written on the margin above the letter.

[306] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[307] The signature is written on the right margin of letter no. 445, fol. 32b. The

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The person will fare well in both abodes
who performs good deeds for the creatures of God.[308]
Gladden the hearts of the helpless,
Remember the days of [your] distress.[309]
God is benevolent to that servant
by whose existence the creatures are at peace.[310]
When a *faqīr*, made helpless by the pain of [his] heart, tells you of his condition,
Listen to the pained heart of that helpless dervish.[311]

May the noble mind be directed to those people upon whom the *tamghā* has been imposed [*ahālī-yi tamghā*], for the sake of the victory of the Islamic faith.[312] God, May He be holy and exalted, said, "God helps those who help Him."[313]

438(443, 445)

هو

جناب امارت مآبی رعیت پناهی عمر معدلته مد الله تعالی ظلال عاطفته علی رؤس الفقراء ممدودا

سلام و دعا ازین جانب قبول و مطالعه فرمایند ملاقات شریف باحسن الاحوال میسر باد بعدها اعلام شریف میرود که شیخ زاده

---

verses below are written on the bottom margin of the letter.

[308] See Sa^{c}dī, *Būstān*, ed. Muḥammad ^{c}Alī Furūghī, chap. 2, *Dār Iḥsān* (Tehran, 1316/1937), 279.

[309] Ibid., 267.

[310] Ibid., 279.

[311] This *bayt* is repeated in letter no. 440(446).

[312] The last two sentences are written as a marginal note in the upper right margin. When Khwāja Aḥrār visited Sulṭān Abū Sa^{c}īd in Herat in 1460 he asked him to abolish the *tamghā* market tax of Samarqand and Bukhara, which he did. He also succeeded in convincing Sulṭān-Aḥmad to abolish it. The *tamghā* was not legally sanctioned by the Sharī^{c}a and was therefore opposed by the religious class, although it continued to be levied throughout the fifteenth century. On the *tamghā*, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 386-87. On Khwāja Aḥrār's visit to Herat and Abū Sa^{c}īd's repeal of the tax, see *Manāqib-i Aḥrār,* fol. 103a; *Rawżat al-ṣafā'*, 285; *Maṭla^{c}-i sa^{c}dayn*, 1105-06; *Silsilat al-^{c}ārifīn*, fol. 71a-71b.

[313] Qur'ān, 47:7.

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زین العابدین از اولاد شیخ الاسلام فرید الدین عطار است
[نورالله مرقده][314] وائمه درفتوی نوشته اند که متولی که در
سرمزار متبرك شیخ الاسلام است واجب العزل است و بموجب
فتوی ائمه دین [رضوان علیهم][315] بشیخ زاده زین العابدین
مذکور میرسد تولیت آن التماس آنکه چون بموجب شرع شریف
بشیخ زاده مذکور میرسد اهتمام فرموده نوعی سازند که حق در
مرکز خود قرار گیرد عندالله ثواب جزیل یابند و عندالناس ثنای
جمیل والامر اعلی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی محمد بن امین الدین[316]

خاطرشریف باهالی تمغا دارند از برای نصرت دین اسلام قال الله
تبارك و تعالی و لینصرن الله من ینصره[317]

کس نیك بیند بهردو سرای[318]
که نیکی رساند بخلق خدای

درون فروماندگان شاد کن
ز روز فروماندگی یادکن

خدارا بران بنده بخشایش است
که خلق از وجودش در آسایش است

چون فقیری عاجزی درد دلی میگویدت [از حال خویش][319]
گوش با درد دل آن عاجز درویش کن

---

[314] Written on the right margin.
[315] Written on the right margin.
[316] The signature is written on letter no. 445, fol. 32b, as is the verse.
[317] Marginal note written sideways on the upper right margin of letter no. 443.
[318] Verse from Sa^{c}di written on letter no. 445, fol.32b.
[319] The addition of these three words, as in letter no. 440(446), breaks the meter.

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439(444)

He!

After the expression of prayers and supplications, it is reported to the illustrious, fortunate son, (May his high station in the two worlds not diminish), that this *faqīr* enjoyed full concord and trust with the eminent ancestor of the distinguished *mawlānāzāda*, Mawlānā Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, the son of the refuge of guidance [*irshād ma'āb*], the great Mawlānā Ḥamīd al-Dīn Muḥammad, (May God have mercy upon him). Since the mystical practice and poverty of the people of the *ṭarīqa* come to the aforementioned *mawlānāzāda* hereditarily, he has now resolved to reject certain forbidden things [*maḥẓūrāt*] and to cultivate the [mystical] practice in the manner of the shaykhs.

Previously, a request was made to his exalted Majesty; it was promised that he would spend the past winter in [your] service, and [then] be granted royal permission. In accordance with the command, he presented [himself]. It is hoped and expected that you may make an effort so that he may obtain permission and, when he sets off together with his household for the House of God, a travel permit [*nishān-i rāh*] will be granted on his behalf. He will be forever grateful [to you] before God, and [for] the favors you bestow upon him, this *faqīr* is a special guarantor of gratitude. Peace!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

439(444)

هو

بعداز رفع دعاء و نیاز مرفوع رای فرزند ارجمند سعادتمند لازال
علیا فی الدارین می گردد که این فقیر را با جد بزرگوار مولانازاده
اعظم مولانا نظام الدین عبدالعزیز ابن ارشاد مآب مولانا الاعظم
مولانا حمیدالدین محمد رحمه الله اتحاد واعتماد کلی حاصل
بوده و چون مولانازاده مشارالیه را سلوك و فقر اهل طریقت

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میراث میرسد حالا عازم آن شده که از بعضی محظورات اعراض نموده سلوك طریق مشایخ ورزد و پیشتراز حضرت اعلی التماس رفته بود وعده فرموده بودند که زمستان گذشته را ملازمت نماید رخصت همایون مبذول فرمایند بموجب فرمان بتقدیم رسانیده مأمول و متوقع آنکه اهتمام فرمایند که رخصت یافته چون با کوچ عزیمت بیت الله دارد نشان راه در باره او عنایت رود هر آینه عندالله مشکور خواهند بود و اشفاق که نسبت مجال او مبذول فرمایند این فقیر خاصه رهین منت است والسلام

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

440(446)

He is the Generous; May He be praised and exalted!

May God the Almighty make them succeed in seeking His satisfaction and in ordering religion and the state. Amen.

When a *faqīr*, made helpless by the pain of [his] heart, tells you of his condition,
Listen to the pained heart of that helpless dervish.[320]

The carrier of the letter is among the companions of this *faqīr*. He will bring a petition to the noble *majlis*. Give generous attention to his situation.

May your gain [*ḥāṣilat*] in [this] world be glory and longevity.
May your gain in the hereafter be nearness and encounter [with God].

Peace be upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

[320] This *bayt* is the same as in letter no. 438(435); the addition of three words again breaks the meter.

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440(446)

هو الكريم تبارك و تعالى

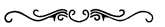
و فقهم الله سبحانه توفيقا لطلب مرضاته و نظاما للدين و الملك آمين

چون فقیری عاجزی درد دلی میگویدت [از حال خویش]
گوش با درد دلی آن عاجز درویش کن

حامل مكتوب از ياران اين فقير است در مجلس شريف عرضه دارد التفات كريمانه بحال وی كنند

ز دنیا حاصلت عز و بقا باد
ز عقبی بهره ات قرب و لقا باد

والسلام على من اتبع الهدى
العبد الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين



441(447)

After the statement of supplication, the petition is that the bearer of this letter of supplication has a request; it appears, based on the Sharīᶜa, that your noble mind should be directed to what he asks. I trust that, through the kindness of [your] noble mind, if the Sharīᶜa is on his side, his request will be satisfied Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

441(447)

بعد از رفع نياز عرضه داشت آنكه دارنده رقعه نياز را التماس است كه بحسب شريعت چنان مينمايد كه خاطر شريف بايد كه

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ملتف بملتمس او شود یقین که به التفات خاطر شریف اگر شریعت بجانب او باشد ملتمس او خواهد حاصل شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

442(448)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of this letter of supplication is a native of Herat. Amīr Tīmūr brought his forefathers [*pidarān*] [to Samarqand] and appointed [them] to serve in various towns. They had personal moveable and immovable properties [*asbāb va amlāk*] on that side [Khurāsān]. [Now] he is experiencing a little poverty. In order to retrieve something from those possessions, he is setting out to that side. I trust that if his possessions, contrary to the Sharīᶜa [*be-khilāf-i Sharīᶜa*], are in the hands of [other] people, something will come to him, through the favor of the noble minds of the servitors; he is heading for Mecca. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

442(448)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز هروی است پدران اورا امیر تیمور آورده بوده اند ایشانرا بهر شهری برای کاری تعین کرده بوده است درآن جانب اسباب و املاك داشته اند اورا فقری هست برای آنکه از آن اسباب چیزی باو برسد به آنجانب متوجه است یقین آنکه اگر اسباب او بخلاف شریعت بدست مردم باشد به التفات خواطر شریفه ملازمان به او چیزی خواهد رسید روی به مکه دارد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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443(449)

After the statement of supplication and self-abasement [*niyāzmandī va shikastagī*], it is related before the servitors of your eminence that Pahlavān Saᶜd al-Dīn passed away in Mashhad. His son Khwāja Żiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, having learned of the event [of his death], has set off to that side. His request to the servitors is that the servitors issue a directive [*ishārat*] that the possessions [*amvāl*] of the Pahlavān be given to his son, Khwāja Żiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. This much presumptuousness has been ventured based on the request of the bearer of the letter of supplication; I trust that you will forgive [me]. Peace and respect!

The needy one, Muḥammad Yaḥyā

443(449)

بعد از رفع نیازمندی و شکستگی معروض پیش ملازمان آنجناب آنکه پهلوان سعد الدین در مشهد نقل کرده اند پسر ایشان خواجه ضیاءالدین محمد واقعه پدررا شنیده متوجه آن جانب شده اند التماس ایشان از ملازمان آنست که اشارت ملازمان شود که اموال پهلوان را به پسر ایشان خواجه ضیاءالدین محمد بدهند این مقدار گستاخی بنابر التماس دارنده رقعه نیاز واقع شد یقین که عفو خواهند فرمود والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر محمد یحیی

444(450)

After the presentation of prayers and supplications, it is submitted to the servitors that the bearers of this letter of supplication have a petition [*ᶜarża-dāshtī*] related to his eminence, Pahlavān.[321] The request

[321] Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh is referring to Pahlavān Saᶜd al-Dīn, whose death he

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is that you not withhold [your] favor. Since the efforts of the servitors in connection with the affairs of the *faqīrs* and the poor are well known to me, [I] have been so bold [as to make this request]; "and forgiveness is hoped for from the generous among mankind." Peace!

The needy one Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh

444(450)

بعد از عرض دعا و نیاز معروض ملازمان میگرداند که حاملان رقعه نیاز عرضه داشتی در باب جناب پهلوان دارند التماس آنکه التفات دریغ نفرمایند چو[ن][322] فقیر را اهتمام ملازمان بمهمات فقرا و مساکین معلوم است گستاخی نمود والعفو عند کرام الناس مامول والسلام

الفقیر محمد عبدالله

445(451)

In His name, the Almighty!

After the statement of salutations and prayers to the honorable refuge of *amīr*-ship, the intimate of his Majesty the Sulṭān, the great *amīr* with radiant thoughts, his exalted excellency, Amīr ᶜAlī Shīr, (May his happiness be prolonged and his grandeur be increased),[323] it is reported that his eminence, the refuge of virtue, the great Mawlānā, Mawlānā Isḥāq al-Niẓāmī, (May his success increase), is among the friends of this helpless one and is hopeful of the favor and compassion of his Majesty. The expectation is that [you] will not refuse mercy and favor to him. May good fortune be [your] companion. Peace and respect!

The one who prays for [your] benefit, Muḥammad bin ᶜAbd al-Malik

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reports in letter no. 443(449).

[322] Written as چو.

[323] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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445(451)

باسمه سبحانه

بعداز عرض تحیت و دعا بحضرت امارت پناه مقرب الحضرت السلطان امیر کبیر روشن ضمیر حضرت علیه امیر علی شیر [دام دولته و زیدت رفعته][324] باز نموده می آید که جناب فضایلمآب مولانا اعظم مولانا اسحاق النظامی زید توفیقه از دوستان این ضعیف اند و از عنایت و مرحمت آنحضرت امیدوارند توقع آنکه شفقت و عنایت را از ایشان دریغ ندارند توفیق رفیق باد والسلام والاکرام

الداعی بالخیر محمد بن عبدالملك

446(452)

After the statement of prayers and supplications, the petition is that through the benevolent help of the Protector and the felicity of the masters [*makhādīm*], the condition of the holy Īshān [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him),[325] is cause for praise and thanks. The beautiful favors and beneficence of his eminence [the addressee] have been made known in detail [to] the devoted friends [*muḥibbān*] here. Since we are incapable of performing the [proper] thanks for this, we say, May God reward you with abundant things as He makes your endeavor worthy of gratitude.

Insofar as gracious acceptance is not contrary to what is required by supplication [*nīyāz*], all of the deeds and manners of his eminence, the refuge of wisdom and the repository of virtues, were regarded as laudable and praiseworthy before the holy *Īshān* and all the masters [*makhāddim*], and everyone wished that he would settle and reside

[324] Written on the right margin.

[325] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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here;[326] [but] considering the anticipation of his household and children, he consented to his return [to Herat] out of necessity, and granted [him] permission [to depart]. The holy Khwāja Pārsā, (May God bless his soul), has written in one of his treatises on this matter: "For the number of every particle of creation there is a path to the Almighty. But there is no path closer or better than that of bringing comfort to the hearts of Muslims." Praise be to God that the Almighty has made the good fortune and manner of this course convenient for his eminence as well; with this consideration [in mind], we also bring before [your] noble mind the supplication and dejection of [our own] helplessness. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval.

446(452)

بعد از عرض دعا و نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه بعون عاطفت مهیمنی و به یمن همم مخادیم احوال حضرت ایشان [سلمه الله و ابقاء][327] موجب حمد و شکر است حسن الطاف و احسان آن جناب بتفصیل معلوم محبان اینجایی شد چون از اداء شکر آن عاجزیم میگوییم جزاکم الله عنا خیرا موفورا کما جعل سعیکم مشکورا چونکه حسن قبول از موجب نیاز متخلف نیست همه اعمال و اطوار خدمت حکمت مآبی فضایل ایابی پیش حضرت ایشان و جمیع مخادیم مستحسن و پسندیده واقع شد و اقامة وتوطن ایشان همه را مطلوب بود بملاحظه انتظار متعلقان و اولاد بضرورت راضی به مراجعت شده اجازت فرمودند معنی هذا حضرت خواجه پارسا قدس الله روحه در یکی از رسایل

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[326] ᶜAbd al-Avval does not provide the name of the person who is settling in Samarqand.

[327] Written on the upper right margin.

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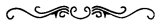
نوشته اند بعدد هر ذره از موجودات راهی است بحق سبحانه اما
هیچ راه نزدیکتر و بهتر از آن نیست که راحتی بدل مسلمان
رسانی الحمدلله که حق سبحانه توفیق و روش این طریق نیز
بنسبت آن جناب روزی و آسان گردانیده باین ملاحظه نیز نیاز و
انکسار بیچاره گی از خاطر شریف مستمدیم والسلام
الفقیر الیه عبدالاول



447(453)

He!

After the presentation of fine prayers, it is submitted to his excellency, the refuge of the realm, intimate of his Royal Majesty, (May his reign be eternal), that following the custom [*sunnat*] of his holiness, [I] happened to be in the *vilāyat* of Marv, which was the stopping and resting place of his holiness for many years. I had the honor of performing the pilgrimage to the sacred *mazārs* and the stopping places of the his holiness, and [I] renewed old friendships that had existed between his holiness and the forefathers and ancestors of the honorable refuge of the Sharīᶜa.[328] [This *faqīr*] wished to obtain the fortune of meeting [with the refuge of the Sharīᶜa], which [I] have desired for many years. But because there was no directive on the part of his excellency, it was delayed. The brother in faith, Khwāja Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan Bakhtiyārī, was sent to the servitors to report the circumstances of [my] affairs. Since the trust and sincere devotion of his holiness [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] toward that family had gained the utmost renown, [as evident] as the midday sun, I trust that whatever royal directive [*ishārat-i aᶜlā*] you issue will be appropriate for the situation of the *faqīrs*. May good fortune be [your] companion!

The sincere lover of Him … Muḥammad Khwāja.[329]

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[328] It is unclear to whom this latter title refers.

[329] Part of the name is unclear.

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447(453)

هو

بعد از عرض دعوات طیبات معروض عالیحضرت مملکت پناهی مقرب الحضرت السلطانی ابد دولته آنکه بسنت حضرت خواجه عمل نموده بولایت مرو که سالها محل نزول و قرار آنحضرت بوده اتفاق افتاد و بشرف زیارت مزارات متبرکه و منازل حضرت خواجه مشرف گشت و تجدید محبت قدیم که میان حضرت خواجه و آبا و اجداد جناب شریعت مآبی بوده نمود میخواست به سعادت ملاقات که سالهاست تمنا داشته مشرف گردد اما چون از آن حضرت اشارت نشده بود توقف نمود برادر دینی خواجه تاج الدین حسن بختیاری را بملازمت فرستاده کیفیت حالات بعرض رساند چون اعتقاد و اخلاص آنحضرت نسبت بدانخاندان کالشمس فی وسط النهار بحد اشتهار رسیده یقین که هرچه اشارت عالی ارزانی فرمایند صلاح حال فقیران خواهد بود توفیق رفیق باد

محبه مخلصه... محمد خواجه[330]

448(454)

After the statement of prayers and supplications and weakness and humility, it is reported that the mind of [this] *faqīr* was very distressed on behalf of the servitors of Amīr Muḥammad Amīn. It has become known that after his letter reached the servitors [of the addressee],

[330] Part of the name is unclear.

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the servitors had directed your noble mind to supervise [the affairs] of our *amīr*. We are [now] greatly gladdened. It is the hope that supervision will be increased. Peace!

The needy one Muḥammad Yaḥyā

448(454)

بعد از رفع دعا و نیاز و عجز و انکسار مرفوع آنکه خاطر فقیر
بجهت ملازمان امیر محمد امین بسیار پریشان بود دانسته شد که
بعد آنکه کتابت ایشان پیش ملازمان رسیده است ملازمان خاطر
شریف برآن گماشته اند که رعایت امیر ما کنند بسیار خوش
خاطر هستیم امید آنکه رعایت در ازدیاد باشد والسلام

الفقیر محمد یحیی

449(455)

After the expression of prayers and supplications and weakness and humility, it is submitted to the servitors that insofar as the bearers of [this] letter of supplication have set out to that side [Khurāsān] in order that the duty of supplication [to you] not be abandoned, [I] fatigue [you] with supplications and prayers. I trust that the servitors will be forgiving. Peace and respect!

The needy one, Muḥammad Yaḥyā

449(455)

بعد از رفع دعا و نیاز و عجز و انکسار معروض پیش ملازمان
آنکه دارندگان رقعه نیاز چونکه متوجه بآنجانب بودند بنابرآنکه
وظیفه نیازمندی ترك نشود بدعا و نیازی تصدیع کرده شد یقین که
ملازمان عفو خواهند فرمود والسلام و الاکرام

الفقیر محمد یحیی

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450(456)

He is the Facilitator and the Helper!

As required by the meaning of the words of God, the royal book, "It is he whom God guides [who is on true guidance],"[331] and as necessitated by the text of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet [Muḥammad] (Upon him be the most excellent of blessings), during the times when "I have a time with God,"[332] when "The rightly-guided one is the one I have guided,"[333] what joy and gladness has arisen from the intention of the well-guided refuge of son-ship![334] For,

> Were I to give up my life at this good news, it would be fitting;
> For this good news is comfort to our soul[s].

Since [that] intention [*muddaᶜā*] is service to His Holy Lordship [*Ḥażrat-i Rubūbiyya*], certainly [in accordance with the *āyat*], "And those who strive in our [cause] - we will certainly guide them to our paths,"[335] that son's attention [may be turned] to the text of the [of the *ḥadīth*] ... .[336] It is hoped that the signs of divine favor will appear, and certainly what is made necessary by the divine words, "When My servants ask thee concerning Me, I am indeed close [to them]; I listen to the prayer of every supplicant when he calleth on Me,"[337] [will be] overflowing. It is hoped that, following [the meaning of the *āyat*],"Verily in this is a message for any that has a heart and understanding or who gives ear and earnestly witnesses [the truth],"[338] since the ability and desire are to the degree that "He who seeks a

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[331] Qur'ān, 17:97.

[332] This text also appears in letter no. 470(476), but it is not traceable. The reference here is to the *Miᶜrāj*, Muḥammad's ascension to heaven as a mystical model of the Sufi's spiritual journey.

[333] Cited in *Fatḥ al-bārī* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, who states that it is part of a long *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* cited by al-Nasā'ī and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī in *al-Mustadrak*. Although al-Nasā'ī has a portion of this *ḥadīth* in no. 887, it does not include the text about the *mahdī*, which must come from one or more other sources. *Mawsūᶜat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (CD-ROM, Cairo).

[334] Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn refers here to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[335] Qur'ān, 29:69.

[336] This is an approximate translation of the text since several Arabic words are unclear.

[337] Qur'ān, 2:186.

[338] Qur'ān, 50:37.

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thing obtains it," the attainment may be abandoned, and [his] resolve and prayer may be expended during the times when "I have [a time] with God."[339] It is hoped that at the earliest possible time, he may reach all the states [*jamīᶜ al-aḥvāl*];[340] and [when he] does reach [them], let them not fall away from [your] noble mind. May [your] mind be made aware of your indebtedness for the aforementioned favors from the King of Favors [*malik-ilṭāf*], and bring them to mind every day. May [your] exalted fortune be made eternal and everlasting.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

450(456)

هوالموافق والمعين

بر مقتضای فحوای کلام آلهی و نامه پادشاه[ی] من یهدی الله فهوالمهتد و بر موجب نص حدیث نبوی علیه افضل الصلوات در اوقات لی مع الله وقت که المهدی من هدیت از مدعاء ولدی مآبی هدایت انتسابی نه چندان بهجت و سرور روی نمود که

بدین مژده [ا]گر جان فشانم رواست که این مژده آسایش جان ماست

چون مدعا ملازمت حضرت ربوبیت باشد هرآینه والذین جاهدوا فینا لنهدینهم سبلنا[341] توجه آن فرزند بر نص اذا... امید آنکه آثار الطاف الهی بظهور رسد و هرآینه مقتضای نص الهی که اذا ساءلك عبادی عنی فانی قریب اجیب دعوة الداعی اذا دعانی فیضان فیض الوجیه امید آنکه مرادف و متوالی بران فی

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[339] This refers to the contemplation of God.

[340] *Aḥvāl* refers to the spiritual as well as physical meaning of the term: the mystical states of the Sufi and the affairs of state.

[341] Approximate translation; several Arabic words are unclear.

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ذلك لذكرى لمن كان له قلب چون قابليت و طلب بكمال است كه من طلب شيئا وجد وجد فايض شود و همت و دعا در اوقات لى مع الله مصروف است اميد آنكه على اسرع الحال در جميع الاحوال رسيده باشد ورسد ازخاطر شريف فرو نگذارند و بالطاف ملك الطاف مذكور خاطر متقاضى ساخته روز بروز ياد آورند دولت عاليه موء بد و مخلد باد

العبد الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين

451(457)

He is the Arbiter of Justice, the Exalted and Most High!

His honor, dearest, noblest son, Tāj al-Millat va'd-Dīn, the venerable *amīr*, ᶜAlī Shīr, may God most high increase his success in seeking the satisfaction of the Almighty, be He glorified and exalted, and may He support him and protect him. Amen! With respect for the chosen Prophet Muḥammad, (May God bless him and greet him).

> May your gain [*ḥāṣilat*] in [this] world be glory and longevity.
> May your gain in the hereafter be nearness and encounter [with God].[342] Amen.

After the statement of prayers, it is announced to the exalted *majlis* that the bearer of the letter [*ḥāmil-i maktūb*] has people in his village [*mardum-i qarya-i īshān*][343] who have become dispersed. If you would

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[342] Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn uses this same verse in letter no. 440(446).

[343] Although Khwāja Aḥrār is often referred to as *īshān*, in this case it is possible that *īshān* refers to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, the addressee. ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī possessed a number of villages in the vicinity of Herat. One of them mentioned in his *vaqfīyya* is Gul, which was located in the *vilāyat* of Haratrud, one of the districts of Herat. For a discussion of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's properties, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlāṣiyya Complex of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī in 15th-Century Herat and its Endowment," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111.1(1991):53. It is not clear why the inhabitants left the village; Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn apparently is petitioning for ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's favor, through a charitable

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turn [your] noble mind [to this], perhaps a community [*jamᶜīyat*] would appear again among those ruins whose people are good Sunnis [*ahl-i sunnat va jamāᶜat*] and people of piety; and there were scholars and pious people in that village, and they are still there now. May the blessing of good works and noble deeds be increased for them by God hour by hour. "For that which is of use to mankind, it remaineth in the earth," is the word of God.[344] The Prophet of God, (Prayers and peace upon him), said: "Those who are merciful towards others, God the Merciful will be clement towards them. Be merciful towards those on earth so that the One in heaven will be benevolent towards you."[345]

The person will fare well in both abodes
who performs good deeds for the creatures of God.[346]
Gladden the hearts of the helpless,
Remember the days of [your] distress.[347]
God is benevolent to that servant
by whose existence the creatures are at peace.[348]
Let the Lord of Fortune [*khudāvand-i dawlat*] be mindful
of religion,
For the world, in any case, passes away.

Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

451(457)

هوالحاكم العادل تبارك و تعالى

خدمت الولد الاعز الاكرم تاج الملة والدين امير معظم امير

---

act of some kind, to make it possible for those who fled to return.

[344] Qur'ān, 13:17.

[345] Part of a *ḥadīth* in al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb al-birr wa'l-ṣilah, bāb mājā'a fī rahmat al-nās, ḥadīth* no. 1847. Also slightly differently worded in Abū Dāwūd, *Kibāb al-adab, bāb fī'l raḥman, ḥadīth* no. 4290, and Ibn Ḥanbal, *ḥadīth* no. 6206. *Mawsūᶜat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (CD-ROM, Cairo).

[346] Saᶜdī, *Būstān*, chap. 2, *Dār Iḥsān*, 279.

[347] Ibid., 267.

[348] Ibid., 279. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn writes these same verses of Saᶜdī in letter no. 438(443, 445).

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علی شیر زاده الله سبحانه و تعالی توفیقا لطلب مرضاته عزوجل و نصره وعصمه آمین بحرمة محمد المصطفی نبی الرحمة صلی الله علیه و سلم

ز دنیا حاصلت عز و بقا باد زعقبی بهره ات قرب و لقا باد آمین

بعد از رفع دعا انها مجلس عالی میرود که حامل مکتوب مردم قریه ایشان هستند و الآن متفرق گشته اند اگر التفات نظر شریف باشد شاید که باز جمعیت در آن خرابه پیدا شود که مردم ایشانرا اهل سنت و جماعتند و اهل طاعت و علما و صلحا درآن قریه بوده اند و حالا نیز هستند توفیق خیرات و مبرات ساعة فساعة از حضرت واهب السعادات ایشانر در تزاید باد و اما ما ینفع الناس فیمکث فی الارض کلام الله است و قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم الراحمون یرحمهم الرحمن ارحموا من فی الارض یرحمکم من فی السماء

کسی نیك بیند بهردو سرای که نیکی رساند بخلق خدای

درون فرو ماندگان شادکن زروزی فرومانگی یاد کن

خدارا بران بنده بخشایش است که خلق از وجودش در آسایش است

خداوند دولت غم دین خورد که دنیا بهر حال می بگذرد

والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

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452(458)

May God extend forever the shadow of his power over all the *faqīrs* and the poor!

After the conveying of dervish prayers, it is submitted to the radiant view of the most dear, fortunate son [ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī], (May his exaltedness not diminish and his good fortune increase),[349] that the grandson of his eminence, the refuge of guidance for the lordly, divine world, and the shaykh of Islām and the Muslims, Mawlānā Sirāj al-Dīn the scholar, is a very pious man and is engaged in the study of the religious sciences [*ᶜulūm-i dīnīya*] and is a *faqīr*. If you would show favor and arrange for him to receive subsistence [*maᶜāsh*] from … ,[350] it is hoped that it will become a cause for good fortune in both worlds. May there be happiness. Peace!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

452(458)

ابد الله تعالی ظلال دولته علی رؤس الفقرا والمساکین

بعد از تبلیغ ادعیه درویشانه معروض رای منیر فرزند اعز
سعادتمند [لا زال علیا زیده توفیقه][351] میگردد که نبیره جناب
ارشاد پناهی عالم ربانی صمدانی مولانا و شیخ الاسلام و
المسلمین مولانا سراج الدین عالم بسیار مرد صالح است و
بتحصیل علوم دینیه مشغول است و فقیر حال اگر عنایت فرموده
نوعی سازند که از …[352] ایشانرا معاش بگذرد امید است که
سبب دولت دارین خواهد بود سعادت باد والسلام

الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

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[349] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin of the letter.

[350] One word is unclear.

[351] Written on the right margin.

[352] The text is unclear; the word reads as عمر.

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453(459)

O repository of son-ship, the first of the holy, the righteous, the desired, I request life for the sake of achieving a meeting with you, may God, most high grant you divine, eternal success.

After the conveying of sincere, pious and illustrious prayers devotedly and faithfully, for God, in God, it is announced that the bearers of this letter are among [my] old devotees [*mukhliṣān*], and have said that their village [has] some [fallow fields][353] and some cultivated [*bā mazāraᶜ*]. Because ruin has befallen the state of those people, the request is that the servitors turn their attention to the situation about which they report and consider it carefully. A fine reward from God and much gratitude from the people may be expected.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

453(459)

ولدی مآبا و مقدما مبارکا وصوابا و مرادا برای درك وصال تو عمر میطلبم وفقکم الله تعالی توفیقا الهیا صمدانیا

بعد از تبلیغ ادعیه وافیه صالحه نامیه مشتاقانه مخلصانه لله فی الله انها آنکه دارندگان رقعه از جمله مخلصان قدیمند و چنین گفتند که ده ایشان بعضی... بوده با مزارع بعضی...جهت خرابی باحوال آن مردم راه یافته ملتمس انکه در احوالی که بعرض رسانند ملازمان التفات فرموده بغور رسند عندالله اجری جمیل و عند الناس شکر جزیل مرجو است

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد [بن] امین الدین

---

[353] Several words in the sentence are unclear. Based on the content, it may be that Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn is contrasting the cultivated and fallow lands of the village.

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454(460)

May God extend and perpetuate the blessings of his justice and favor among the faithful!

After the presentation of dervish prayers and sincere salutations, it is submitted that the bearer of this letter is a pious man and a seeker of knowledge. He has an important matter about which he shall report. If [you] show kindness and endeavor to satisfy his request, it is hoped that this will be the cause for salvation in both worlds. As it is said in the reports about the holy Prophet [Muḥammad], (May the best of blessings and most perfect salutations be upon him), "God most high helps his servant as long as the servant helps his Muslim brother." May [your] happiness and fortune increase and progress in the two worlds.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

454(460)

اللهم ابد و خلد میامن عدله و احسانه بین المؤمنین

بعد از عرض دعوات درویشانه و تحیات صادقانه معروض
می افتند که دارنده رقعه مرد صالح و طالب علم است و جزوی
مهم دارد که بعرض خواهد رسانید اگر کرم نموده در کفایت مهم
مشارالیه کوشند امید است که سبب نجاة دارین خواهد بود چون
در اخبار حضرت نبوی علیه افضل الصلوات و اکمل التحیات
وارد است که ان الله تعالی فی عون العبد مادام العبد فی عون
اخیه المسلم دولت و سعادت دوجهانی در تزاید و ترقی باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمدن بن امین الدین

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455(461)

O Lord of all dominions, You give whom it pleases You the kingdom and exalt whom You please.[354]

And "While that which is for the good of mankind remains on the earth."[355] After the submission of prayers for the good fortune of the *pādshāh* of Islām, (May God most high perpetuate his dominion among the people), the request is as follows. There is a mosque in Gavāshān,[356] in the quarter [*maḥalla*] of Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn, on crown land [*zamīn-i khāliṣa*]; a group of dervishes wishes to use that land as a retreat [*muʿtakaf*]. [However,] because the land on which the mosque is located is crown land [*khāliṣa*], the *ʿulamā* will not give permission. If his Royal Majesty, (May God perpetuate his power), will make this land on which the mosque is located, that is in the vicinity of that mosque, and some of the crown land *vaqf* for the mosque, in accordance with legal practice [*be ḥasb-i sharʿ*], then that mosque may become flourishing, the members of the community who are present in that mosque will be able to pray for the continuation of the state [*dawlat*] and the increase of the power [*salṭanat*] of his Majesty, morning and night they will be able to recite the fragrant *fātiḥa* for the perpetuation of the power of his Majesty, and it will become the reason for the increase of the power of his eminence.[357] "Do good [deeds] as God does good deeds for you."

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[354] Qur'ān, 3:26. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn omits part of the *āyat,* "and You take away the power from whosoever You will."

[355] Qur'ān, 13:17.

[356] Gavāshān is located near Herat in the *bulūk* of Gudara. See Dorothea Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsan zur Timuridenzeit,* vol. 2, 24, 88.

[357] This letter raises an interesting question regarding the creation of endowed land from crown land (*khāliṣa).* This issue is discussed in depth by Maria Subtelny in her forthcoming book. I am grateful to her for sharing her research with me. Based on documentary evidence, Subtelny demonstrates the existence of an innovative "buy back procedure" in the Timurid period that enabled the ruler to convert crown land into private property (*milk*). Since crown land was "held in trust by the ruler who could not buy or sell it," that land had to be first converted into private property (*milk*) before it could be used to create a pious endowment. See Subtelny, "The Logic of Shrine Development," 26-30. Although the letter does not refer to first making the *khāliṣa* into private land, it appears that Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn is describing just such a situation. He implicitly requests the Sulṭān to transfer crown land (*zamīn-i khāliṣa*) to private property (*milk*) in order to legally endow the land of the mosque in Gavāshān.

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Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

455(461)

اللهم مالك الملك تؤتی الملك من تشاء[358] و تعز من تشاء

واما ما ینفع الناس فیمکث فی الارض بعد از عرض دعاء دولت پادشاه اسلام خلدالله تعالی سلطانه بین الانام ملتمس آنست که مسجدیست در گواشان در محله خواجه قطب الدین در زمین خالصه و جمعی درویشان در آنجا میخواهند که معتکف شوند چون زمین مسجد خالصه است علما رخصت نمیدهند اگر حضرت سلطنت شعاری ادام الله سلطانه زمین آن مسجد را و بعضی از زمین خالصه که در نواحی آن مسجد است بحسب شرع وقف آن مسجد سازند تا آن مسجد معمور شود و جماعتیان که در آن مسجد اند بحضور بدعاء دوام دولت و مزید سلطنت آنحضرت مشغول توانند بود و در صبح و شام بفاتحه فایحه بدوام سلطنت آنحضرت قیام توانند نمود و سبب مزید سلطنت آنجناب گردد احسن کما احسن الله الیك

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

[358] One line has been omitted, و تنزع الملك ممن تشا.

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456(462a,b)[359]

After the presentation of supplication, which is heard with the utmost affection and purity of trust, it is submitted to the servitors of the world-protecting court [*mulāzimān-i dargāh-yi ᶜālam-panāh*], (May God most high elevate its rule and beneficence),[360] as follows. It has been heard from a group of trustworthy and just people that this woman … .[361] of the bearer of the letter … [someone] acted unfairly and excessively [harshly], and is causing harm, contrary to the noble Sharīᶜa. If, purely for God's sake, you will give this careful consideration and act in accordance with the immaculate Sharīᶜa, [and if], since there is a *qāżī's* decision regarding this, [you will] give precedence to what he [the *qāżī*] establishes as lawful [according to] the Sharīᶜa, [then] it will increase [your] good fortune in both worlds. May good fortune be [your] companion.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

456(462a,b)[362]

بعد از عرض نیاز که بکمال محبت و خلوص اعتقاد اصغاء یافته است بعز عرض ملازمان درگاه عالم پناه [اعلی الله تعالی سلطنته و احسانه][363] میرساند که از جمعی ثقاة و عدول مسوع شده که این ضعیفه …[364] آن رافع رقعه حیف و زیادتی مینماید و خلاف شریعت غرا تعرض میرساند اگر خالصا لله تعالی بغور رسند و بموجب شریعت مطهره فرمانید چون درین ثبوت قاضی

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[359] The letter is divided into two parts in the manuscript, numbered 462a and 462b, fol. 34b.

[360] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[361] Text is unclear. It is possible that this is the same woman referred to in letter no. 423(429).

[362] The letter is divided into two parts in the manuscript, numbered 462a and 462b, fol. 34b.

[363] Written on the right margin.

[364] Text is unclear.

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هست آنچه بشرع شریف ثابت کند بدان موجب بتقیدم رسانند
مزید دولت دارین خواهد بود توفیق رفیق [باد]

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

457(463)

May God most high strengthen the pillars of the state with His exalted being.

Having submitted prayers, which can be a means of attaining religious and worldly goals [*murādāt-i dīnī va dunyā'ī*], and having handed over all the dervish resolve for the increase of the cultivation of the people of God through service to the court of eternity, it is submitted to the mind of the dearest, illustrious, felicitous, fortunate son, that the pious, practicing Darvish Maᶜsūd, who is the cream of the devotees and exemplar of the [saintly] pillars [*awtād*], and is poor and has a family, and whose worthiness is clear and evident, is far from his homeland and wishes to return [there]. If you bestow kindness and render favor to help and assist him, it is hoped that it will be the cause for the increase of fortune in the two worlds. As is reported [in the Prophet's saying,] "God most high helps his servants as long as the servant helps his Muslim brother,"[365] may your fortune and felicity in the two worlds increase and flourish.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

457(463)

شید الله تعالی ارکان الدولة بوجوده العالی

دعاء که واسطه وصول بمرادات دینی و دنیایی تواند بود مرفوع
داشته و همگی همت درویشانه بر مزید تربیت اهل الله [ا]ز

[365] This is the same *ḥadīth* cited in letter no. 457(463).

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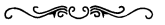
ملازمت بارگاه صمدیت گماشته معروض رای فرزند اعز
ارجمند سعادتمند دولت قرین میگردد که درویش صالح سالك
درویش مسعود که زبده عباد و قدوه اوتاد است و فقیر و عیالمند
است و استحقاق او واضح و لایح است و از ولایت خود
دورمانده و داعیه مراجعت دارد اگر کرم نموده و عنایت ارزانی
داشته امداد و معاونت نمایند امید است که سبب ازدیاد دولت
دارین خواهد بود چون خبر ان الله تعالی فی عون العبد مادام
العبد فی عون اخیه المسلم وارد است دولت و سعادت دو جهانی
در تزاید و ترقی باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین



458(464)

He is the Helper!

After the presentation of prayers and salutations of supplication and longing, it is submitted to the noble mind of the dearest, noble, fortunate son [ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī], (May his good fortune not diminish), that we had earlier sent the bearers of the letter, Amīr Sayyid Muḥammad and Mawlānā ᶜUmar, to you. They are pious people and are engaged in scholarly study. You had shown the favor [of a stipend] to cover the needs of the aforementioned men. Apparently nothing has reached them so far.[366] The request and expectation from the generosity of your eminence is that [you] will be so kind [as to ensure] that the past amount and the amount to come from what is due [*az maḥill*] is received and not delayed. Since I have relied on [your] kindness and mercy toward all the people of God, especially

[366] The words *yak māh be īshān* are written below in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, indicating that nothing had arrived for one month.

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the people of learning who are emigrants [*muhājir*], I will not go on at length. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

458(464)

هوالمعین

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسلیمات نیازمندانه مشتاقانه بعرض رای شریف فرزند اعز ارجمند سعادتمند لازال دولته باشد که دارندهاء رقعه امیر سید محمد و مولانا عمر درپیشتر بملازمت فرستاده بودیم که مردم اهل اند و مشغول اند بمطالعه علمی و شما عنایت فرموده بودید جهت مایهتاج مشار االیهمارا و ظاهرا در مدت گذشته چیزی بایشان نرسیده ملتمس و متوقع از مکارم احلاق آنجناب آنکه عنایت فرمایند که آن ماضی و مستقبل از محل که بوصول رسد و متوقف نشود چون یقین بود که عنایت و شفقت درباره جمله اهل الله بتخصیص اهل علم که مهاجر باشند زیاده مبالغه نرفت و السلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

460(466)[367]

He is the Healer, the Sufficient!

May God ward off the evil eye from you. And that prayer is the best of prayers.

[367] Letter no. 459(465) is that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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Thousands of divine eternal favors and a multitude of endless, glorious kindnesses upon the incomparable personage of that nightingale of the heart-enrapturing garden, that falcon of the heaven of friendship, who has been distinguished by God, the Sublime King, with a host of virtues and numerous distinctions, who bears the name of the Shāh-i Mardān [ᶜAlī] and who is endowed with [his] qualities in majesty of bearing and level of knowledge and gnosis.[368] May the illness that befell that holy personage be transferred to the ill-intentioned ones; through the order of the dervishes' hearts, may the pure mirror of his mind always receive images of divine inspirations; and may the sun of his brilliant and noble essence always be the place where the sublime images of divine graces are manifested. Peace from God, the Glorious!

The humble *faqīr*, Abū Saᶜīd

460(466)[369]

و هو الشافی الکافی

صرف الله عنك شرعیون ان هذا الدعاء خیر دعاء

آلاف الطاف الهی جاودانی و اصناف اعطاف نامتناهی سبحانی قرین حال ذات بی مثال آن بلبل باغ دلگشایی شهباز هوای آشنایی المختص من الله الملك المتعال بصنوف الفضایل و انواع الافضال هم نام جمله شاه مردان و هم صفت در جاه وجود و مرتبه علم و معرفت عارضه که آن ذات بابرکات را واقع بوده حواله بداندیشان بحرقه دل درویشان مرآت باصفای ضمیرش همیشه پذیرای صور الهامات سبحانی و خورشید ذات باضیای

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[368] Abū Saᶜīd is referring to the addressee, ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, who has apparently become ill.

[369] Letter no. 459(465) is that of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

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دلپذیرش همواره مظهر معانی عنایات رحمانی باد والسلام من الله المجید

الفقیر الحقیر ابوسعید

461(467)

He!

May the star of fortune and prosperity and the brightly shining stars of grandeur and glory rise and flash forever, eternally from the horizon of grandeur and majesty for the sake of the saintly hierarchy.

He has traveled with a hundred caravans of souls [*jān*];
Wherever he is, May God keep him well.

The request of the dervishes is that at no time or place will you let the support of the helpless [*darmāndagān*] fall from [your] hand, or the lifting-up of the fallen to be trampled underfoot. Bring comfort to the destitute and give ear to the lamenting and wailing of the seekers of justice [*dād-khwāhī*]. These are the broken-hearted ones, and the hearts of the desolate are the abode of the Lord of Mercy, May He be Glorified and Exalted.[370] The *ḥadīth*,"I am with their broken hearts"[371] is their witness, for religious and worldly goals will be its result and fruit. He is the judge!

Peace, and may [your] fortune and grandeur be perpetual in the two worlds!

The most humble servant, Abū Saᶜīd

---

[370] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[371] This text is not found in the Nine Books of *Ḥadīth* or in their commentaries. It resembles in meaning some *ḥadīths* in al-Mundhirī's *Forty Ḥadīths* (nos. 18-20). The text is cited, in one form or another, in eight places in the 100 *fiqh* books, however, and is cited as a *ḥadīth*, the earliest citation being that of Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336) in *al-Mudkhal. Mawsūᶜat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (CD-ROM, Cairo).

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461(467)

هو

ابدا کوکب دولت و اقبال و سرمدا نجوم ثواقب ابهت و اجلال از مطالع حشمت و جلال طالع و لامع باد بحق الاقطاب و الاوتاد

آن سفر کرده که صد قافله جان همره اوست

هرکجا هست خدایا بسلامت دارش

التماس درویشان آنست که در هیچ زمان و مکان دستگیر درماندگان از دست ندهند و برداشتن افتادگان بپای دارند و دلداری بی کسان در دل آورند و ناله و فغان داد خواهان را در گوش برآواز باشند اینها شکسته دلانند و دلهای شکستگان قرارگاه حضرت رحمان است جل وعلا و حدیث انا عند المنکسرة قلوبهم گواه ایشانست که مقاصد دینی و ننیوی نتیجه و ثمره آن خواهد بود باقی حاکمند والسلام دولت و رفعت دو جهانی مستدام باد

اقل العبید ابوسعید

462(468)

He is the Merciful One!

May the favor of the Almighty and the kindnesses of Divine Grace be the companion to the world-protecting [Sulṭān], in the name of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and his glorious family. [May] your enemies

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be scorned in all languages even if the enemies were the two luminaries [the sun and moon]. After the fulfillment of the duties of pious greetings, it is submitted that Sayyidim-Qūlī has repented. The hope through the favor of the Lord of the two worlds is that from now on no act will issue from him [the *sayyid*] that would be in opposition to the disposition [*ṭabaᶜa*] of his Majesty, and that he shall maintain the path of fidelity [*vafādārī*] to the limits of his capacity and possibility.

Attend to the work of the poor, for there is work for you as well.

The most humble servant, Abū Saᶜīd

462(468)

هو الرؤف

عنایت حق و الطاف فیض ربانی قرین عالم پناه باد بالنبی و آله الامجاد عدوك مذموم بكل لسان ولوكان من اعدایك القمرانی بعد از عرض وظایف دعوات صالحات معروض میگردد كه سیدیم قولی تایب شده رجا بفضل رب العالمین آنست كه من بعد از وی امری واقع نشود كه خلاف طبع آنحضرت باشد و طریق وفاداری بقدر الوسع و الامكان مرعی دارند

كار درویش مستمند برآر كه ترا نیز كارها باشد

اقل العبید ابو سعید

463(469)

He!

O repository of son-ship and refuge of the *faqīrs*! After the presentation of supplication, [it is submitted that] the bearer of this letter is poor and a stranger [*gharīb*]. Showing kindness to the condition of the helpless ones is among the best [sources of] hopefulness from the

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holy Lord of Majesty. He has a petition [*ʿarża-dashtī*]. For God and in God, may you give it careful consideration. From God a fine reward and abundant merit is [to be] envisioned; and the matter is the highest [in importance].

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

463(469)

هو

ولدی مآبا و فقرا ملاذا بعد از عرض نیاز دارنده رقعه مردی فقیر غریب است و التفات بحال فروماندگان از کمال امیدواریست بحضرت ذوالجلال عرضه داشتی دارد لله و فی الله بغو[ر][372] او برسند عندالله اجری جمیل و ثواب جزیل متصور است و الامر اعلی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

464(470)

He is the Helper!

After the presentation of prayers and saluations of supplication and longing, it is submitted to the noble and kind attention of the illustrious, felicitous, and fortunate son,[373] the refuge of *vazīr*-ship and repository of *amīr*-ship, (May his rank and power not diminish), that the bearer of this letter, Shaykh Bāyazīd, has told [us] that in the province of Quhistān much injustice has come to him and much *vārid*[374] [import]

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[372] Written as بغو.

[373] The addressee is ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[374] The *vārid* tax is a levy on imported goods from abroad or outside the region. The term is normally found in plural form (*vāridāt*, or import duties), in compound with *ṣādirāt* (export duties). See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma* (Tehran, 1946-), 20, 390.

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tax [has been levied upon him]. He is from among the noble people of this province. The request and expectation from the magnanimous disposition of [your] eminence is that you make an investigation. If [his claim] is accurate, [then] let the injustice and the oppression against him be warded off. It will be agreeable with God and with the people. Since I trust in [your] kindness and mercy towards the downtrodden and oppressed, and [your] repulse and obstruction of transgressors and oppressors [*mutaʿādīān va ẓālimān*], I will not go on at length. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious[375]

464(470)

هوالمعين

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسليمات نيازمندانه مشتاقانه بعرض راى شريف لطيف فرزند ارجمند سعادتمند دولتمند وزارت پناهى امارت مآبى لازال جاها و دولتا باشد كه دارنده رقعه شيخ بايزيد بسمع رسانيد كه در ولايت قهستان بر او حيف و وارد بسيار رفته و از مردم اصيل اين ولايت است ملتمس و متوقع از مكارم اخلاق آنجناب آنكه تفحص فرمايند اگر واقع باشد دفع ظلم وتعدى او كنند عندالله و عند الناس پسنديده خواهد بود چون يقين عنايت و مرحمت بحال فروماندگان و مظلومان و دفع و زجر متعديان و ظالمان زياده مبالغه نرفت والسلام على من اتبع الهدى

العبد الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين

[375] The handwriting of the signature is not the author's.

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465(471)

To Him!

May your gate never cease to be the *kaᶜba* of hope, and may the threshold of your glory never cease to be the *qibla* of good fortune. May the ordering of the realm and the community and the maintenance of the faith and the state [*niẓām-i mulk va millat va qivām-i dīn va dawlat*] always be managed by the world-adorning counsel and problem-solving experience of his Majesty, (May God most high extend the shadows of [His] mercies and kindnesses over all creatures and subjects until the Day of Judgement); and may the tranquil court of exalted expanse of his Majesty of heavenly power be the refuge and resort of the lords of sublime and spiritual matters, and let it be the courtyard for the petitioning of needs by the far and near. Truly He "is merciful to [His] servants."[376] After the statement of supplication, it is to be submitted that Darvīsh Valī has set out to come before the servitors.

If he should favor his state with a simple glance,
His work and a hundred like his would be fulfilled through that one glance.

Since the favor and magnanimity of the servitors of his excellency is complete, [I] will not trouble [you] with excessive words.

What need is there to make a recommendation to Heaven,
When He holds [His] shade [of protection] over the heads of the inhabitants of the entire world.

May the shade of [His] protection be eternal, in the name of the Prophet Muḥammad and his glorious family. Amen, O Lord of the two worlds!

The humble prayer-sayer, Saᶜd al-Dīn[377]

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[376] Qur'ān, 2:207, 3:30.

[377] The signature is located below the letter under the last line; the handwriting of the letter and the signature are the same. In letter no. 466(472) the author signs his name Saᶜd Allāh. Based on the handwriting and the content of the letters, they are written by the same author. As noted earlier, Saᶜd Allāh may be Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī who, according to Khwāndamīr, died on the 6th of Jumada II 860 (May 12, 1456). If that date is correct, Saᶜd Allāh's two letters were addressed to Abū Saᶜīd (r. 1451-1469).

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465(471)

له

لا زال بابك كعبة الامال و جناب عزك (؟) قبله الاقبال
همیشه نظام ملك و ملت و قوام دین و دولت به آرای عالم آرای
و تدبیر مشكل گشای آنحضرت خلدالله تعالی ظلال مراحمه و
اشفاقه علی كافة البرایا و قاطبة الرعایا الی یوم الدین
منتظم و ساحت با راحت عالی مساحت حضرت فلك اقتدار
مرجع و مآب ارباب معالی و معانی باد و عرصه عرضه داشت
حاجات اقاصی و ادانی باد انه رؤف بالعباد بعد از رفع نیاز
معروض آنكه درویش ولی متوجه ملازمت ملازمان است

اگر بگوشه نظر عنایتی بحال او دارند
كار وی و چو صد وی زان یك نظر براید

چون التفات و اهتمام ملازمان آنحضرت عام است بزیادتی
اطناب مصدع نمیشود

چه حاجت است سفارش بآسمان كردن
كه سایه بر سرسكان ربع مسكون دارد

سایه عاطفت مخلد باد بالنبی و آله الامجاد آمین رب العالمین
الفقیر الداعی سعدالدین[378]

[378] The signature is located below the letter under the last line. The handwriting of the letter and the signature are identical.

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466(472)

He is [the One] sought for help!

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. "Help from God and early victory. So give good tidings to those who believe."[379] Praise be to God and salutations to His pious servants! The heart-gladdening [letter] and soul-expanding epistle of his Majesty, the great Sulṭān, the grand Khāqān, the protector of the cities of God, the helper of the servants of God, the source of kindness and beneficence, the extender of peace and tranquility, the essence [of the creation by God of men] from water and clay, the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, the shadow of God on the two lands [Khurāsān and Mawarannahr], (May God most high perpetuate his domain and rule and bestow upon the two worlds his bounty and benevolence), which had been sent as a kindness at the most glorious of times and the best of hours, arrived.[380] Praise be to God for His blessing!

[His] form [*ṣūrat*] is concealed [*ghā'ib*] from the eye
and [His] moral traits [*akhlāq*] are in sight.
[His] face [*dīdār*] is veiled [*dar ḥijāb*]
and [His] inner meanings [*maᶜānī*] are likewise [in sight].

In any case, the duty of those in supplication [*niyāzmandān*] is nothing but proper prayer and blessing [for the Sulṭān].

O Lord, may the prayers of those with pained hearts [*khasta-dil*] be answered [by You].

After the presentation of prayers and salutations, it is announced to [your] most noble and exalted mind that whatever had come to the dervishes from the unseen world [*ghayb*] has been brought to [your] royal attention [*bi-ᶜarż-i humāyūn*].[381] Praise be to God that the sign of truthfulness of that word has arrived!

The beloved [*maᶜshūq*] became tranquil, let it be so![382]
His infidelity [*kufrish*] became all faith, let it be so!

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[379] Qur'ān, 61:13.

[380] The titulature is that which is customarily used for Abū Saᶜīd.

[381] It is notable that the inner visions of the Sufis, which are passed on to the court, serve to further the cultivation of patronage relationships.

[382] This verse is from Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Kullīyat-i Shams, Dīvān-i Kabīr*, vol. 1, poem no. 82 (Tehran, 1977), 55-56. As noted below, hemistich 3 and 4 in Saᶜd Allāh's letter belong to two different *bayts*.

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From the fortune of the afflicted [*dawlat-i maḥzūnān*] and the aspirations of the fools [of God] [*himmat-i majnūnān*],[383]
The sun became radiant, let it be so![384]
Shams al-Ḥaqq Tabrīzī says with a living heart,[385]
Tabrīz has become Khurāsān, let it be so!

And in what his Majesty had ordered and vowed with regard to the affairs of the dervishes and to solicitude for the minds of the Muslims, let him, in accordance with the command, "Honor 'for the command of God'[386] and for his mercy upon the creatures of God," observe the path of maintaining mercy and kindness toward all Muslims and the people of faith, so that this matter may be the cause for conquest and triumph and victory over the enemies [*ā'dā'*] and for constancy in the state and realm [*dawla va mamlaka*].[387]

He who protects the people of God,
His God shall protect him from affliction in all situations.

A chapter on goodness is written [here by me]. It is hoped that [you] will put [it] into practice. May [your] fortune, grandeur, and happiness be eternal, in the name of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and his glorious family. "God is compassionate to his servants."[388] May God preserve you for the sake of the world and religion!

The dervishes had sent prayer beads [to us] from Mecca the noble. For the sake of the tranquility of the realm and the binding of religion and state, they have been sent [on to you]. Honor them.[389]

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[383] Hemistich 3 in Sa'ad Allāh's letter is followed by the following hemistich in the original poem: آن سلسله جنبان شد تا باد چنین بادا (Rūmī, *Kullīyat-i Shams, yā Dīvān-i Kabīr*, vol. 1, 55).

[384] Hemistich 4 in Sa'ad Allāh's letter is preceded by the following hemistich in the original poem: شب رفت صبوح آمد غم رفت فتوح آمد (Rūmī, *Kullīyat-i Shams, yā Dīvān-i Kabīr*, vol. 1, 55).

[385] In the original poem, this hemistich reads: شمس الحق تبیزی از بس که در آمیزی (Rūmī, *Kulliyat-i Shams, yā Dīvan-i Kabīr*, vol. 1, 56).

[386] Qur'ān, 9:106.

[387] It is unclear what the Sulṭān ordered or what kind of vow was made, although it likely entailed some form of support of the Sufi community since Sa'd Allāh emphasizes the needs of the Sufis and the Muslim community and the reward to be attained through the benevolence and compassion of the Sulṭān.

[388] Qur'ān, 2:207, 3:30.

[389] The postscript is written on the right margin of the letter.

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The most humble of the servants of God, the prayer-sayer, Saᶜd Allāh.[390]

466(472)

هوالمستعان

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين الحمد لله و سلام على عباده الذين اصطفى ملاطفه دلگشا و مفاوضه روح افزای جناب حضرت سلطان الاعظم الخاقان المعظم حافظ بلاد الله ناصر عبادالله مظهر اللطف والحسان باسط الامن والامان خلاصه الماءوالطين سلطان السلاطين ظل الله فی الارضين خلد الله تعالى ملكه و سلطانه و افاضی على العالمين بره و احسانه كه در اعز اوقات و خوبترين ساعات عنايت فرموده بودند رسيد الحمدلله على نعمايه

صورت ز چشم غايب و اخلاق در نظر
ديدار در حجاب و معانی برابر است
هرآينه وظيفه نيازمندان جز دعا و فاتحه نيست
يا رب دعاء خسته دلان مستجاب باد

بعد از عرض دعا و تحيات انهای رای اشرف اعلى ميرود كه آنچه بدرويشان ازغيب رسيده بود بعرض همايون رسانيد والحمد لله كه علامة صدق آن كلام پيوست

[390] As noted above, the author signs his name as Saᶜd al-Dīn in letter 465(471).

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معشوق بسامان شد تا باد چنیین بادا
کفرش همه ایمان شد تا باد چنین بادا
از دولت محزونان وز همت مجنونان
خورشید درخشان شد تا باد چنیین بادا
شمس الحق تبریزی با زنده دلی گوید
تبریز خراسان شد تا باد چنیین بادا

و در آنچه آنحضرت فرموده بودند و نذر کرده در مهمات درویشان و رعایت خاطر مسلمانان بحکم التعظیم لامرالله والشفقته علی خلق الله بر کافه مسلمانان و اهل ایمان طریق رعایت شفقت و عاطفت مرعی دارند تا این معنی سبب فتح و ظفر و نصرت بر اعدا و ثبات در دولت و مملکت باشد

هرآنکه جانب اهل خدا نیکه دارد
خداش در همه حال از بلا نگه دارد

و فصل بالخیری نوشته شده است امید چنانست که بعمل آورند دولت و عظمت و کامرانی مخلد باد بالنبی و آله الامجاد و الله رئوف بالعباد الله ابقاك للدنیا و الدین تسبیحی[391] از مکه معظم حواله درویشان شده بود جهت جمعیت ملك و رشته انضمام دین و دولت فرستاده شد معزز دارند

اقل العبد الله الداعی سعد الله

[391] The following postscript is written on the right margin.

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467(473)

He is the Honorer!

May the salutations of God be abundantly upon you [all],
For the heart of the enamored [one] is desirous of your presence.

After the presentation of prayers and salutations of supplication and longing, it is submitted to the noble mind of the illustrious, felicitous, and fortunate son, the refuge of wise counsel,[392] (May His good fortune not diminish), that the bearer of this letter, Mawlānā Maḥmūd Khwāfī, son of Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn, [the sign of] God's favor,[393] is engaged in studying the *Mukhtaṣar-i Talkhīṣ*[394] and jurisprudence. He lives in poverty and resides in the *khānqāh* of ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī.[395] It is requested and expected from the magnanimous disposition of

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[392] *Āṣaf-panāhī* is another epithet of ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. Āṣaf is the purported name of King Solomon's *vazīr*, thus making the analogy with Navā'ī's position under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, to whom Muḥammad b. Amīn refers in letter no. 425(430a) as "Supreme Khāqān of Solomonic rank." See Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's letters 471(477), 475(481), and 476(482) for other examples of the use of *Āṣaf-panāhī*.

[393] Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, the originator of the Zaynī Sufi order, was an important and active shaykh in Herat. According to Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī, Khwāja Aḥrār visited him often during the four years he spent in Herat. See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 2, 416; *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 403-405.

[394] An abridgement of the famous *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazvīnī Khaṭīb Dimashq (d. 739/1338), a commentary on the 3rd part of the *Miftāḥ al-ᶜulūm* of Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229). It is a standard text on rhetoric, but it is not clear which abridgement this is. See GAL, GI, 295/353-54; SI, 516.

[395] The shrine of Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089) is located in Gāzurgāh, several kilometers northeast of Herat. As the research of Maria Subtelny has shown, under the Timurids, and particularly under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, the shrine and cult of Anṣārī was revived in the context of Timurid Islamizing policies. The shrine was generously patronized through pious endowments, and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā even went so far as to claim descent from Anṣārī himself. ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī was closely associated with the Gāzurgāh shrine, and two years before his death he requested Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to permit him to retire as the sweeper of the shrine. See Subtelny, "The Cult of ᶜAbdullāh Anṣārī under the Timurids," in *God is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty* (Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit), *Festschrift in honour of Annemarie Schimmel*, Alma Giese and J. Christoph Bürgel, eds. (1992), 394-398. Khwāndamīr details Navā'ī's investment in the buildings and personnel of the shrine, and notes that he paid for their salaries out of his own monies. See Khwāndamīr, *Faṣl az Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, Gūyā Iᶜtimādī, ed. (Kabul, 1345/1966), 22-23; cited by Maria Subtelny, "The Cult of ᶜAbdullah Anṣārī," 398. In the present letter, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn was apparently petitioning Navā'ī for the salary of Maḥmūd Khwāfī, which may have come from the endowent he established.

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your eminence that you will be so kind as to command that from the aforementioned *khānqāh*, a stipend [*vaẓīfa*] [be assigned to him] of an amount sufficient for him to engage freely in [his studies] and not be distracted. Since I have trusted in your kindness and mercy toward [God's] creatures, especially the people of learning, I will not go on at length. Peace be upon those who follow God's guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

467(473)

هوالمعز

سلام الله و السقیا علیکم و قلب الصب مشتاقا لدیکم

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسلیمات نیازمندانه مشتاقانه بعرض رای شریف فرزند ارجمند سعادتمند دولتمند آصف پناهی لازال دولته رسانیده میشود که دارنده رقعه مولانا محمود خوافی فرزند مولانا زین الدین عنایت الله و سبق او مختصر تلخیص و فقه بتحصیل علم مشغول است و بفقر میگذراند و در خانقاه خواجه عبدالله انصاری ساکن است ملتمس و متوقع ازمکارم اخلاق آنجناب آنکه عنایت فرمایند و هم از خانقاه مذکوره فرمایند که وظیفه بقدر حال که تواند بفراغت بتحصیل مشغول تواند بود و تفرقه بحال اوراه نیابد چون یقین بود عنایت و شفقت در باره خلق بتخصیص با اهل علم زیاده مبالغه نرفت و السلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

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468(474)

O refuge of *amīr*-ship characterized by justice!

After the statement of supplication, it is to submitted to the assembly of the refuge of the *amīr*-ship that the bearer of this letter of sincere devotion, Mawlānā ᶜImād al-Dīn Aḥmad, is a a student and is engaged in the noble religious sciences; and he has mastered [many] perfections. Recently, because of *ḥavālāt* and *ᶜavāriżāt*,[396] much disarray and disorder has begun, such that for some time he has been prevented from studying.[397] If the felicity of the refuge of favors [the addressee, ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī] is employed to remedy his desolation—for he is a man of noble birth and among the notables of Quhistān—the hope is that it will be the cause for good fortune in the two worlds, and will not be in vain with God.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the All-Sufficient, the Glorious

468(474)

امارت مآبا معدلت شعارا

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع مجلس امارت [مآبی] آنکه حامل رقعه اخلاص مولانا عمادالدین احمد مردی طالب علمست و بفنون فضایل دینی اشتغال می نماید و اکتساب کمالات کرده درین ایام بواسطه حوالات و عوارضات تفرقه و پریشانی بسیار باحوال او راه یافته چنانچه مدتیست که از مطالعه محروم است اگر سعادت التفات مآبی تدارك خرابی او چون مردی آدمی زاده است و از

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[396] The *ḥavālāt*, like the *barāt,* was a form of revenue assignment, while the *ᶜavāriżāt* was an extraordinary tax levied on the populace by state or local rulers. See Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 346; 382-83.

[397] The petitions of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn are requests for exemption from these taxes, the granting of which was only possible through a royal decree (*farmān*). See letter no. 150(155) of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Pis'ma-avtografy*, 75, fol. 49, and letter no. 500(506) of Khwāja Aḥrār.

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اعیان قهستان متصرف گردد امید آنست که سبب دولت دارین گردد عندالله ضایع نمانند

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

469(475)

He is the Ruler!

I said that, as a present in the presence of that King,
My hands being empty, I offer [my] life.
And for the sake of spreading such kindness,
With living soul I offer [my] soul.
[My] heart said, who are you to say,
This I give, that I offer?
I myself, at morning time,
Offer a prayer without means of the tongue.[398]

From the kindnesses of that refuge of son-ship and repository of virtues, (May God most high perpetuate the shadows of his kindness), so much joy, gladness, purity, and contentment reaches the senses of each turbaned and afflicted one [*maᶜmūm va maḥzūn*][399] in the House of Worship of Ziyāratgāh[400] that the commentary upon its scent can come [only] through the aromas of the account [of the following line of verse]:

Should I sacrifice my life at this good news, it would be permissible.

In any case, since the intention of his Royal Majesty, the exalted Khāqān of Solomonic rank [*Ḥażrat-i aᶜlā Khāqānī, Sulaymān-makānī*], (May God perpetuate his authority),[401] is that what is "in the cause of God,"[402] it is established [that] "He who is for God, God

[398] This is a reference to the performance of silent *dhikr*.

[399] *Maᶜmūm* refers to the "turbaned" or *ᶜulamā*, while *maḥzūn* refers to the Sufis.

[400] Ziyāratgāh is a town located near Herat, south of the Harī Rūd.

[401] The *duᶜā* is written on the bottom right margin.

[402] Here the text reads *wa fi'llāh*, whereas the Qur'ānic reference is *fi'llāh*, "in the cause of God," as in 16:41, 22:78 and 29:10.

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is for him;" and the situation was confirmed about this group when they raised the song of opposition toward him.

Come from outside singing against him,
And [even] if you are the heavens you will be confounded.

Praise be to God and to His favor, His grandeur, and His power!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

469(475)

هو السلطان

گفتم که بتحفه نزد آن شاه دستم چو تهیست جان گشایم
وز بهر نثار اینچنیین لطف باروح روان روان گشایم
دل گفت تو کیستی که گویی من این دهم و من آن گشایم
من خود بسحرگهان دعایی بی واسطه زبان گشایم

از الطاف ولدی مآبی اخلاق ایابی اید الله تعالی ظلال الطافه نه چندان بهجت و سرور و صفا و حضور بمشام جان هر معموم و هر محزون در دارالعبادة زیارتگاه برسید که شرح شمه از آن به بنان بیان توان بدین مژده گر جان فشانم رواست

هرآینه چون نیت حضرت اعلی خاقانی سلیمان مکانی [خلد سلطانه لله][403] و فی الله است من کان لله کان الله له مقرر است و این حالت اینجماعت را چون با وی نغمه مخالفت نمودند مقرر بود

[403] Written on the right margin.

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با وی نغمه از برون آیی

گر سپهری که سرنگون آیی

لله الحمد والمنه و الکبریاء العظمه و القدره

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

470(476)

He is God, the Helper and the One Sought!

O refuge of son-ship, asylum of the creatures [of God], comforter of the poor, May God most high grant you divine and eternal success as a support in the two worlds!

After the sending of praises [marked by the *ḥadīth*], "I have a time with God," and of prayers [marked by the *ḥadīth*], "Love God at all times," it is announced that the bearer of this letter, Khwāja Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥājjī Sulṭān, who is among the descendants of the lords of … [404] and piety and chastity of sainthood of the province … [405] hereditarily,—and of whom it has aways been known that they have been supporter(s) of the subjects and the destitute and the poor [*raʿāyā va masākīn va fuqarāʾ*], and he too, in particular, has been known for following their practice [*bar sunan-i īshān*] and for adhering to the path of his ancestors [*ṭarīqa-i ajdād*] and advancing it—has said that, at this time, it has been approximately one year and seven months since he came to the court of the world-succoring Khāqān, (May God perpetuate his dominion and authority),[406] in order to complain about the oppression [he has suffered] at the hands of certain oppressors … .[407] And he said it has been submitted to his excellency, and his excellency, after examining [the issue], ordered an investigation of those officials [*navvāb*] and an inquiry into the matter of the oppressor. He said that his allegation [*muddaʿā*] il-

[404] One word is missing.

[405] One word is unclear.

[406] The *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[407] One word is unclear.

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luminated the just and fortunate mind of [his] excellency; but until now, he still remains disappointed, [for] no judgment has been issued regarding his affair. The request from the servants [*khuddām*] of [his] excellency is that, as a favor, that, since no one returns from this court dejected, you issue a judgment [*ḥukm*] about his affair and, in accordance with divine satisfaction, you arrange it so that he may return to his native country with his face radiant from his aim of acquitted honor, having achieved his goal, for inevitably it will be the cause of an increase in good fortune and success; abundant merit from God and fine reward from God [may be expected].

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

470(476)

هوالله المستعين المستعان

ولدی مآبا و خلایق ملاذا و فقرا نوازا وفقك الله تعالی توفیقا الهیا صمدیا للعالمین معاذا

بعد از تبلیغ ثناها لی مع الله وقت و دعاهاء اتحب الله فی کل وقت انها آنکه دارنده رقعه خواجه شریف الدین حاجی سلطان که از نتایج ارباب ... [408] و تزکیه و عصمت ولایت... [409] ابا عن جد و همه وقتی معلوم شده سماعا که مربی رعایا و مساکین و فقرا می بوده اند و او نیز بتخصیص معلوم شده که بر سنن ایشان می رود و طریقه اجداد خود مسلوك داشته بتقدیم میرساند درین وقت مدت یکسال و هفت ماه تخمینا گفت که بدرگاه عالم پناه خاقانی [خلد ملکه و سلطانه] [410] آمده جهت تظلم از دست

[408] One word is unclear.

[409] One word indicating the place name is missing.

[410] Written on the right margin.

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بعضی ظلمه... [411] و گفت بعرض حضرت رسانیده و آنحضرت بعد از اطلاع حکم فرموده بر غور رسیدن آن نواب را تفحص امر ظالم را و چنین گفت مدعاء خود رای صواب دولت حضرت روشن داشته و نوشته نمود که بعرض آنحضرت رسانیده بوده است و تا غایت گفت سرگردان می گردد بر مهم او حکم می فرمایند ملتمس از خدام حضرت آنکه التفات فرموده چون ازین درگاه نومید کسی نمیرود بر مهم او حکم فرمایند و بر مقتضای رضای الهی چنیین سازند که بروی با فیض مراد سرخ رو و با مراد مراجعت بوطن ماءلوف خود نماید که هرآینه سبب ازدیاد دولت و کامرانی خواهد بود عندالله ثواب جزیل و عند الله اجر جمیل مرجو است

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

471(477)

He is the Helper!

After the presentation of prayers and salutations of supplication and longing, it is submitted to the noble and gracious mind of the illustrious, felicitous, and fortunate son, the refuge of wise counsel, (May his good fortune not decrease), that the bearers of this letter, pious dervishes, have made many complaints and innumerable small outcries regarding … .[412] Inasmuch as they have evidently left their native land because of his oppression,[413] and now are saying that, "he has seized a sum [of money] from us without cause," the request and

[411] One word is unclear.

[412] One word is unclear, most likely a person's name.

[413] This may be a reference to oppressive taxation.

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expectation from [your] magnanimous disposition is that [you] give careful and due attention to the dervishes' [complaints], and [that you] hold back the hand of the oppressors from the oppressed. Since I have trusted in [your] favor and mercy on behalf of the downtrodden, I will not go on at length.

Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

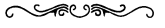
Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious[414]

471(477)

هوالمعین

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسلیمات نیازمندانه مشتاقانه بعرض رای شریف لطیف فرزند ارجمند سعادتمند دولتمند آصف پناهی لازال دولته رسانیده میشود که دارنده هاء رقعه درویشان زاهدان شکایت بسیار و ضعیف نالی بی حد کردند از...[415] چنانچه ظاهرا جلاء وطن شده اند از ظلم او وحالا میگویند که مبلغی وجه ستانیده از ما بنا وجه ملتمس و متوقع از مکارم اخلاق آنجناب آنکه بواجبی بغور درویشان برسند و دست ظالمان از مظلومان کوتاه کنند چون یقین بود عنایت و مرحمت در حق فروماندگان زیادت مبالغه نرفت والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین



[414] The text of the letter was evidently written by someone other than Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn since the handwriting does not match his signature.

[415] One word is unclear.

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472(478)

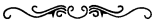
O refuge of son-ship and asylum of the poor! After the presentation of supplication, [it is submitted] that his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, who is the bearer of this letter, has declared that a section of property [*juzvī-yi amlāk*] was purchased by the Īshān's servitors.[416] Part of the price has remained [unpaid]. For the sake of God, turn [your] attention and order the servitors [to pay] the remainder [of the money] to the bearer of the letter, who is a very highly respected man and is needy of that sum of money. It will not be in vain with God; the matter is of the highest [importance].

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

472(478)

ولدی مآبا و فقراء ملاذا بعد از عرض نیاز آنکه جناب سیادت
مآبی که دارنده رقعه است نمودند که جزوی املاك جهة
ملازمان ایشان ازو خریده و از بهای آن چیزین مانده لله التفات
فرمایند و ملازمان را فرمایند تا بقیه را بدارنده که بسیار مردی
عزیز است ومحتاجی بدان وجه دارد عندالله ضایع نخواهد بود
الامر اعلی

[417]
العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین



[416] The referent of *īshān* is unclear. *Mulāzimān-i Īshan* may refer to the servitors of Khwāja Aḥrār. There is a possible connection between this letter and no. 267(272), which concerns the purchase of land in Khurāsān for Khwāja Aḥrār; or it is possible that *mulāzimān-Īshān* refers to the servitors of the addressee, ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[417] Unlike the signature, the text is not written in the hand of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn.

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473(479)

God is truly the Lord, the Helper.

God, holy and most high, said, "If you help God, He will help you and strengthen your step,"[418] and "Help God in that which He Helps, God is Powerful and Exalted."[419] O, refuge of *amīr*-ship, asylum of the poor. Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, who is a pupil and [like a] son to this prayer-sayer, and is a son of the muezzin, Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Ḥamza, has sold his hereditary land [*amlāk-i mīrāth*] and has bought cultivable land [*mazraᶜa*], which has been fallow [*bāyir*] and uncultivated [*nā- mazrūᶜ*] for some time, and which is at the head of the public road, so that he may eat lawfully from his own work.[420] The expectation is that [you] will arrange it so that he may, in complete peace, attend to praying for his august [Majesty] and his own dervish [works].

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

473(479)

الله نعم المولی و نعم النصیر

قال الله تبارك و تعالی ان تنصروا الله ینصرکم و یثبت اقدامکم و لینصرن الله من ینصره ان الله قوی[421] عزیز امارت مآبا و ملجاء الفقراء مولانا کمال الدین احمد که شاگرد و فرزند این دعا گوست و فرزند استاد داعی مولانا شمس الدین حمزه است املاك میراث خود فروخته و مزرعه که مدتی است که بایر و نامزروع است در سر راه عامه خریده که باشد لقمه حلال از کسب خود خورد توقع آنکه چنان سازند که از سر فراغت بدعاء

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[418] Qur'ān, 47:7.

[419] Qur'ān, 22:40.

[420] This may be the same Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn mentioned by Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī in letter no. 391(397-398).

[421] The text should read لقوی.

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همایون و درویش خود قیام تواند نمود

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

474(480)

He is the Helper!

May God [extend] the shadows of his kindness over all the inhabitants of the two worlds.

Oh felicitous and fortunate son, august *amīr*,[422] may the following be known to [your] noble mind: It has been reported to your gracious honor that the affairs of the village of Jāvīr [*muhimm-i qarya-yi Javīr*] [have been] transferred to Ṭabas.[423] It [the village of Jāvīr] used to report separately to the *dīvān* [regarding] its *māl* and *ikhrājāt* [taxes].[424] The petition is that effort be expended so that the dervishes of the aforementioned village may be able to attend to their affairs in tranquility, and that they may be able to engage in praying for the perpetuation of [your] good fortune. Since I have relied on [your] favor and mercy toward the weak and the poor, I will not go on at length. Peace upon whose who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

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[422] The addressee is ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[423] Ṭabas is a *bulūk* located in the Bayhāq region of Khurāsān in the *vilāyat* of Shaqān. See Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit*, 213; Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 82. Ḥāfiż-i Abrū does not list Jāvīr among the villages of Ṭabas. See letter no. 481(487), in which Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn refers to a group of Sufis from Jāvīr who have acted inappropriately by sending a letter to the *dīvān-i aᶜlā,* in which they complain about the tax change described in this letter.

[424] Although it is not stated directly, Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn may be suggesting that this group of Sufis in Jāvīr be exempted from the *māl* and *ikhrājāt.* On the *māl* property tax, see Petrushevksii, *Zemledelie*, 373-74. On *ikhrājāt*, or extraordinary taxes, see Petrushvskii, *Zemledelie*, 382; Urunbaev, "Pis'ma-avtografy iz "Al'boma Navoi-Istochnik," 136. In the latter article Urunbaev cites letter no. 150(155) of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. In that letter (*Pis'ma-avtografy.* 75, fol. 49), Jāmī petitions for a royal decree *(farmān-i humāyūn)* to exempt Khwāja Jalāl al-Dīn Jāmī and Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf from *māl-i juzvī-yi zirāᶜatī*, *ikhrājāt* and *ᶜavāriżāt* for a period of three years.

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474(480)

هوالمعین

[خلد]الله تعالی ظلال عاطفته علی رؤس العالمین [فرز]ند سعادتمند دولتمند امیرا و علیا [معلو]م رای شریف باشد که مهم قریه جاویر را بسمع [شر]یف لطیف رسانیده شده بود که سوی طبس گردانند [مال] و اخراجات خود علیحده بدیوان جواب می گفته [با]شند ملتمس آنکه سعی مبذول فرمایند تا درویشان [قر]یه مذکوره بمهمات خود بفراغت قیام توانند نمود و بدعاء [دو]ام دولت مشغول توانند بود چون یقین بود عنایت و [مر]حمت در باره ضعفا و مساکین زیاده مبالغه نرفت [وا]لسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

475(481)

After the presentation of prayers, and salutations of supplication and longing, it is submitted to the noble and gracious mind of the illustrious, felicitous, and fortunate son, the refuge of counsel,[425] (May His good fortune not diminish), that the bearer of this letter has been honored with coming before [your honor], and has a small complaint that certain people, in contravention to the immaculate Sharīᶜa, have committed violence and oppression against the bearer. Should this be so, the request and expectation from the magnanimous disposition of your eminence is that [you] not allow anyone to commit violence or oppression contrary to the immaculate Sharīᶜa. Since I have relied

[425] The letter is addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

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upon [your] favor and mercy toward the weak and the poor, I will not go on at length. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious[426]

475(481)

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسلیمات نیازمندانه مشتاقانه بعرض رای
شریف لطیف فرزند ارجمند سعادتمند دولتمند آصف پناهی
لازال دولته رسانیده میشود که دارنده رقعه بملازمت شریف
مشرف گشت و ضعیف نالی دارد که بعضی مردم بخلاف
شریعت مطهره بر دارنده حیف و تعدی می نمایند چون واقع باشد
ملتمس و متوقع از مکارم اخلاق آنجناب آنکه نگذارند که کسی
بخلاف شریعت مطهره حیف و تعدی نماید چون یقین بود عنایت
و مرحمت در باره ضعفا و فقراء زیاده مبالغه نرفت و السلام علی
من اتبع الهدی
العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین

476(482)

He is the Helper!

After the presentation of prayers and salutations of supplication and longing, it is submitted to the noble and gracious mind of the illustrious, felicitous, and fortunate son, the refuge of counsel, the repository of *amīr*-ship,[427] (May he not diminish in rank or good fortune), that the

[426] The handwriting of the letter is different from the signature, which is that of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn. It is possible that the letter was written by someone else but signed by him to legitimize the account.

[427] The addressee is ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

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bearer of the letter, ʿAbd al-Raḥman, has reported that he is engaged in study, and is hard-pressed with respect to income [for his] livelihood. The request and expectation from the magnanimous disposition of your eminence is that, on whatever basis [you] consider appropriate, some thought be given regarding him. Since I have confidence in [your] mercy and compassion toward the people, especially the people of scholarship, I will not go on at length. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious[428]

476(482)

هو المعين

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسليمات نيازمندانه مشتاقانه بعرض راى شريف لطيف فرزند ارجمند سعادتمند دولتمند آصف پناهى امارت مآبى لا زال جاها و دولتا رسانيده ميشود كه دارنده رقعه عبدالرحمن بسمع رسانيده كه بتحصيل علم مشغولست و از جهت وارد معاش دست تنگ است ملتمس و متوقع از مكارم اخلاق آنجناب آنكه از هر ممرى كه مصلحت دانند فكرى در حق او بكنند چون يقين بود و تحقيق شفقت و مرحمت در باره خلق بتخصيص اهل علم زياده مبالغه نرفت والسلام على من اتبع الهدى

العبد الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين

[428] As in letter no. 475(481), the handwriting of the letter is different from the signature, which is that of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn.

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477(483)

In the words of the Prophet [Muḥammad], (May God bless him and give him peace), "He who eases worldly grief from the soul of a believer, God will ease of his grief on the Day of Resurrection." May the lords of good works, the masters of good deeds, and those who have had the good fortune of finding the means of felicity, (May God make them successful in obtaining high ranks in paradise), know that the bearer of the letter, the Qur'ān reciter, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Fīrūzābādī, is a pious and observant man; he has a large family and is extremely poor and in need. He is among the *murīds* and servitors of the exalted threshold of the asylum of the pious and the saints, Mawlānā Muḥammad [-i] Amīn al-Dīn,[429] (May God most high extend his blessings to the Day of Judgment). For those who do good deeds on behalf of him [the bearer], there is hope of a fine reward and abundant merit, according to the promise [conveyed by the *āyats*], "If you do good deeds, you do good for yourself,"[430] and "If you are rewarded for doing good, what greater good is there?"[431] If a person renders favor and does good on his behalf, and to the extent of his power and ability becomes a partner in eliminating poverty, he deserves the same reward. And God is the Prosperer and the Helper.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

477(483)

عن النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من نفس عن مؤمن من کربة
من کرب الدنیا نفس الله عنه کربة من کرب یوم القیامة
ارباب مبرات و اصحاب خیرات و توفیق یافتگان اسباب
سعادات وفقهم الله لاکتساب الدرجات فی الجنات بدانند که
دارنده رقعه مقری عبدالرحیم فیروزآبادی مردی صالح عابد

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[429] As in letter nos. 475(481) and 476(481), the handwriting of the letter is different from the signature, which is that of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn.

[430] Qur'ān, 17:7.

[431] Qur'ān, 55:60.

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است و معیل و در غایت فقر و فاقه و از مریدان و ملازمان عتبه
علیه ملاذ الصلحاء و الاولیا مولانا محمد امین الدین ادام الله
برکاته الی یوم الدین است و احسان کننده را در باره وی امید اجر
جمیل و ثواب جزیل بر وعده ان احسنتم احسنتم لانفسکم و هل
جزاء الاحسان الا الاحسان اگر شخصی موفق درباره وی
احسانی کند و بقدر الوسع و الاستطاعه در ازاله فاقه وی شریك
شود بجای خود است والله الموفق و المعین

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین[432]

478(484)

He!

May God help the Muslims!

Oh dearest, most noble, great, illustrious, felicitous, well-guided son, the namesake of the Lion of God [ᶜAlī][433] who is received by the hearts of the people of God, and who trusts in God in all his affairs! Accept [our] pious prayers and fine praising; May God award the Muslims. After this, it is announced that the bearers of the letter, Mawlānā Najīb, and the Qur'ān reader, Shaykh Maḥmūd, are among the followers [*qarābatān*][434] of this *faqīr* and are pious men. The request is that [you] be informed about them, so that no one may bother them[435] [and] so that they may engage freely in praying for the perpetuation of royal fortune. May success be your companion!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

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[432] As in letter nos. 475(481) and 477(483), the handwriting of the signature, that of Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, is not the same as the text.

[433] The epithet *Asad Allāh* refers to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[434] *Qarābatān* may also mean the "relatives" of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn; it is unclear from the context which meaning is intended.

[435] *Ziyādatī nakund* implies some financial misdeed.

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478(484)

للهم وفق بمعاونه المسلمين

فرزند اعز اكرم اعظم ارجمند سعادتمند هدايت پيوند سمى اسد الله مقبول قلوب اهل الله المتوكل فى كل شئونه على الله دعاء صالحه و مدحات رايقه قبول فرمايند متع الله المسلمين بعده بعز انها ميرساند كه دارنده رقعه مولانا نجيب و مقرى شيخ محمود كه از قرابتان اين فقيرانند و مردم صالح اند التماس آنكه از ايشان برخبر باشند كه كسى برايشان زيادتى نكند تا بفراغت بدعاء دوام دولت روزافزون مشغول تواند بود توفيق رفيق باد

العبد الفقير الى الله الكريم الغنى العزيز محمد بن امين الدين

479(485)

He!

O glory of son-ship, visage of sainthood, source of good fortune [*valadī-ma'āthirā va vilāyat-manẓarā va dawlat-i mafkharā*],[436] (May his favors and beneficence not decrease toward the people of God, one after another).

After sending pages of salutations and the gifts of glorious prayers, it is announced that the bearer [of this letter] is a very pious and God-fearing man, and he is diligently engaged in studying. He is a descendant of notables [*akābirzādahā*]. The manner of the saints [*shi'ār-i awliyā*] was evident in his father in many ways both during his lifetime and after his death.[437] It is hoped that the *amīrs* ... . His lineage[?] goes [back][438] to our Mawlānā, the master of gnostic sci-

[436] The addressee is 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī.

[437] *Shi'ār-i awlīyā* may refer to his miracle-working abilities.

[438] The text is unclear.

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ences, Hājjī Nūrullāh, and he [the bearer] is his follower and is related to him. While he is of the people of notable birth, he has many of the characteristics of the *faqīrs*, and poverty and debt have overtaken him to the point that deficiencies have appeared in his studies.

It is requested that you be so kind as to arrange, for God and in God, that the servitors of his excellency relieve him of these two concerns [of poverty and debt], and that some relief may come to him so that he may engage in his studies. Since there is hope[fulness] that his learning may become the cause of guidance for all the people of the land of darkness [that is] Quhistān,[439] it is hoped that from your good fortune, a candle may be lit in the darkness.

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

479(485)

هو

ولدی مآثر[ا] و ولایت منظرا و دولت مفخرا لازال الطافه و احسانه الی اهل الله مسلسلا

بعد از تبلیغ صحف تحیات و تحف دعوات نامیات انها آنکه دارنده مردی بغایت صالح است و متقی است و بجد بتحصیل علوم مشغول و از اکابر زادهها و بر پدرش شعار اولیا بانواع لایح بوده حالت حیوة و حال ممات نیز امید آنکه امرا باشد و حدی نسبش[440] بمولانا و مولی العلوم اللدنی حاجی نورالله می بوده و صاحب وصله اوست و چون از آدمی زاده هاء ولایت است به

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[439] Quhistān was a traditional center of the Shīᶜa and a Niẓārī Ismāᶜīli enclave. See V.V.. Barthold, *A Historical Geography of Iran*, trans. Svat Soucek, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Princeton, 1984), 135-36; I.P. Petrushevskii, *Islam in Iran*, trans. by Hubert Evans (London, 1985), 303.

[440] Approximate reading since the text is unclear.

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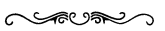
فقیران انواع خصوصیت دارد و فقر و قرض اورا دریافته حتی که
قصور در تحصیل شده ملتمس آنکه التفات فرموده لله و فی الله
چنان سازند که ازین دو امر اورا ملازمان آنحضرت با کنار آورده
نوعی فراغتی اورا پیدا شود که بتحصیل مشغول تواند بود چون
امیدواری آن هست که علم او سبب هدایت تمامی مردم
تاریکستان قهستان شود امید آنکه شمعی در تاریکی افروخته از
دولت شما باد

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین



480(486)

He!

May God extend the shadows of his kindness and compassion over all the creatures.

After the presentation of prayers and saluations, let it be revealed to the noble mind of the felicitous and fortunate son, the refuge of *amīr*-ship and *vazīr*-ship, the exalted and valiant [Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī], that the bearers of this letter have set out to come before you. They want to leave for [their] province [*vilāyat*]. Since the legal matter [*muḥimm*] that was disputed with them was ascertained to be false and not to have happened, it is requested that [you] bestow an order [*nishān*] whereby no one may trouble them [in this regard], so that the dervishes may attend to their affairs freely. Since I have relied on [your] efforts on behalf of the *faqīrs* and the poor,[441] I will not go on at length. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious[442]

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[441] *Fuqarā'* and *masākīn* may both refer, in parallel meaning, to the poor rather than separately to the Sufis and the poor.

[442] The handwriting of the signature is different from that of the letter.

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هو

مد الله ظلال عاطفته و مرحمته علی رؤس الخلایق

بعد از عرض دعوات و تسلیمات معلوم رای شریف فرزند

سعادتمند دولتمند امارت مآبی وزارت پناهی علیا و شجاعا باشد

که دارندهاء رقعه متوجه ملازمت شدند و میخواهند که بطرف

ولایت بروند و مهم که با ایشان بحث می کردند چون تحقیق آن

گردید که خلاف بوده و غیر واقع ملتمس آنکه نشانی ارزانی

فرمایند که ازین جهت کسی مزاحم ایشان نشود تا درویشان

بفراغت بمهمات خود توانند قیام نمود چون یقین بود اهتمام

درباره فقرا و مساکین زیاده مبالغه نرفت والسلام علی من اتبع

الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین[443]

481(487)

He!

May God most high perpetuate the shadows of his kindness over all the Muslims … .[444]

[After] dervish greetings and many sincere prayers to his eminence, the refuge of guidance, dearest, illustrious, and felicitous son, the refuge of *amīr*-ship,[445] [it is submitted] that a group of people from

[443] The handwriting of the signature, that of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, is not the same as the text.

[444] One word is unclear.

[445] The addressee is ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

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Jāvīr [of the *vilāyat*] of Ṭabas [*mardom-i Jāvīr-i Ṭabas*], out of ignorance and contentiousness, have sent a letter to the *dīvān-i aʿlā.* These people are dervishes.They are not government functionaries and are not powerful people [*ʿamal- dār va mutaghallib nīst*].[446]

It has become known that an envoy [*ilchī*] has been appointed to bring some of the dervishes to the *dīvān-i aʿlā.* Sending an *ilchī* to that province is a cause for the disturbance and distraction of the dervishes. This *faqīr* had requested that the sending of the envoy be postponed for ten days so the dervishes could be brought to [your] presence. Now they have come. They were penitent of their deeds and words. Since those on both sides were of such a disposition, they were called to reconciliation, and they accepted. Peace was made between them. It is requested that they stop the *ilchī* from going to that ruined province. The *ilchī* and the dervishes have come before you. "Whatever Khusraw may do shall be sweet."[447] Since your mercy and compassion toward the *faqīrs* and the indigent are certain and confirmed, there is no need to stress [this] further. Peace upon those who follow [God's] guidance!

Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, the servant in need of God, the Generous, the Sufficient, the Glorious

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[446] This letter is related to no. 474(480) in which Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Din reports that the taxes of the village of Jāvīr were being turned over to Ṭabas, a *vilāyat* in Khurāsān. Previously, the *māl* and *ikhrājāt* taxes of Jāvīr had been sent directly to the *dīvān.* The Sufis in Jāvīr evidently were upset with this new arrangement. Although it is difficult to ascertain, given the limited information, based on the two letters it is possible to conjecture that this group had been previously exempted from payment of these taxes and was complaining because of the new situation in which its members found themselves accountable for payment. In response to the inappropriate behavior of the Sufis, who themselves wrote a letter directly to the *dīvān,* a servitor of the Sulṭān (possibly ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī, to whom this letter is addressed), sent an *ilchī* to look into the matter. Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn apparently succeeded in stopping the *ilchī* from being sent to Jāvīr, and the Sufis went to Herat where they apologized and a settlement was reached. This is an interesting example of local politics that demonstrates Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn's influence at the Timurid court and his role as an intermediary between the Sufis and state officials.

[447] The proverb, a parody on Khusraw and Shīrīn, is: "Harche ān Khusraw konad, shīrīn būd."

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481(487)

هو

ابد الله تعالی ظلال عاطفته علی رؤس المسلمین ...[448] تحیات درویشانه و صنوف دعوات مخلصانه بجناب هدایت مآب فرزند اعز ارجمند سعادتمند امارت مآبی می شود که جمعی مردم جاویر طبس از سر جهل و خصومت خطی بدیوان اعلی سفاریده اند و این مردم درویش اند و عمل دار و متغلب نیستند و چنین معلوم شد که الچی مقرر شده که بعضی از درویشان را بدیوان اعلی آورند و فرستادن الچی بدان ولایت خراب موجب تفرقه و بیحضوری درویشانست و این فقیر درخواست کرداه بود که الچی فرستادن ده روز موقوف دارند تا درویشان بحضور آیند حالا آمدند و از کرده و گفته خود پشیمان بودند از جانبین چون حال بدین منوال بود ایشانرا بصلح دعوت کرده شد قبول کردند و میان ایشان مصالحه شد ملتمس آنکه دفع الچی کنند که بدان ولایت خراب نرود الچی و درویشان بحضور آمدند هرچه آن خسرو کند شیرین بود چون یقین و تحقیق بود شفقت و مرحمت ایشان در حق فقرا و مساکین زیاده مبالغه نرفت والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

العبد الفقیر الی الله الکریم الغنی العزیز محمد بن امین الدین[449]

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[448] One word is unclear.

[449] The handwriting of the signature, that of Muḥammad bin Amīn al-Dīn, is not the same as the text.

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482(488)

He!

May God most high perpetuate the shadows of his *amīr*-ship, power, and justice as the pride of the *amīrs* and the support of the *faqīrs* [*fīrqat al- fuqarā'*] and Muslims.

God knows secretly and openly that I long for your desired face.
The need of [my] mind for a meeting [with you],
However much can be put to pen, is a thousand times more.

After the statement of supplications and the presentation of sincere devotion, it submitted that the time [of the dervishes] is being spent with the duties of prayers for the raising of [your] rank and the increase in blessings for the populace; verily He is the best of those who listen [to prayers] and respond [to them].

It is reported that some of the people from Qublāy(?),[450] because of events of the time, have emigrated from their homeland and have come to that province [*vilāyat*]. In this province they have close relations and children who are burned by the fire of separation and drowned in the sea of longing. His eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, the Murtażā-yi Aᶜẓam, Mujtabā-yi Akram, Sayyid Abū Turāb, (May the shadow of his *sayyid*-ship be extended), who is among the notable *sayyid*s, has met with them and has assumed responsibility for them, in order to ensure their reunion and their release from the pain of separation. In accordance with the utmost magnanimity of the family of the Prophet, he has undertaken the trouble of traveling [to Herat] during the days of the most intense heat, and since the people of this province have heard that his eminence has increased his favor and kindness toward the *faqirs* who dwell at the threshold of poverty, they have asked me[451] to write [to you]. The request of this devoted

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[450] The reading of the place name is not exact due to condition of the text. Based on the content of the letter, it is likely to have been in Mawarannahr. We have been unable to find a reference for Qublāy in Hāfiz-i Abrū or other local sources.

[451] The author of this letter, Khwāja Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlā' al-Aṭṭār, grandson of ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 802/1400), one of the disciples of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, was highly regarded by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. Two of his three letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt,* nos. 482(488) and 487(493), concern a family that had migrated from Mawarannahr, apparently to Khurāsān, and wanted to return and be united. Based on the content of the letters and the honorifics used in both letters for *sayyid* ("Murtażā-yi Aᶜẓam, Mujtabā-yi Akram") it is possible that they concern

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one from his eminence is that at an opportune moment, you would be so kind, for the sake of the [peace of] mind of this most humble one, as to bring [this] to the attention of the servants [*bandagān*] of his exalted Highness, his Majesty the Khāqān, the refuge of the caliphate of Solomonic station [*Ḥażrat-i aʿlā-yi salṭanat-shiʿārī-yi khāqānī khilāfat-panāhī-yi Sulaymān-makānī*], (May God most high perpetuate his dominion and authority),[452] in such a way that [his] exalted resolve is directed to issuing permission [for them] to return, so that along the way no one may hinder the household and goods [*kūch*] of this group. There is great reward from God Almighty, and this *faqīr* will be most grateful. May your exalted shadow be perpetuated!

The servant of the pious, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlā' al-ʿAṭṭār

482(488)

هو

ابد الله تعالی ظلال امارته و دولته و معدلته افتخارا للامراء و استظهارا لفرقة الفقراء والمسلمین

الله یعلم من سری و من علنی

انی الی وجهك المرغوب مشتاق

نیازمندی خاطر باتفاق وصول

زهر چه در قلم آید هزار چندانست

بعد از رفع نیاز و عرض اخلاص معروض آنکه اوقات بوظایف دعوات رفع درجات و مزید خلق بابرکات مصروف است انه خیر من یسمع ویجیب باز نموده می آید که بعضی ازمردم قبلای (؟)[453] بواسطه

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the same family.

[452] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[453] The reading of the place name is not exact since the text is unclear. Based on the content of the letter, it is likely to have been in Mawarannahr. Qublāy is not listed in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū.

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حوادث زمان جلاء اوطان کرده بدان ولایت افتاده اند و درین ولایت خویشان نزدیك و فرزندان ایشان هستند که محرق نار فراق و غریق بحر اشتیاق اند جناب مرتضی اعظم مجتبی اکرم سید ابو تراب مد ظل سیادته را از اعاظم سادات اند بایشان اختلاط بوده تولا به ایشان کرده اند که سبب اتصال و خلاصی از محنت افتراق کردند بمقتضای کمال کرم در خاندان نبوت است محنت سفر در ایام شدت حر اختیار کرده اند و چون مسموع اهل این ولایت شده که آنحضرت را بفقراء آستان مسکنت آشیان مزید التفات و عنایت واقع است ازین فقیر التماس کتابت نمودند ملتمس این مخلص از آنحضرت آنست که عنایت کرده جهة خاطر این کمترین بمحل مناسب

بعز عرض بندگان حضرت اعلی سلطنت شعاری خاقانی خلافت پناهی سلیمان مکانی [خلد الله تعالی ملکه ا سلطانه][454] رسانیده بنوعی همت عالی گمارند که رخصت معاودت حاصل فرمایند که در راه کوچهاء این جمع را مانع نیایند عندالله سبحانه اجر عظیم است و المنة الکثیر علی الفقیر ظل عالی مخلد باد والسلام

خادم الابرار محمد بن حسن بن علاءالعطار

483(489)

May God most high perpetually extend the shadows of his fortune and his grandeur and the realization of his glory!

After the statement of supplication and the submission of sincere devotion, it is submitted that the time [of the dervishes] is spent in daily prayers of hoping for blessings. May the meeting [with you] be

[454] Written on the right margin.

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enjoyed in the most fortunate manner, in the name of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and his glorious family.

It is reported that the bearer of this page of affection, his honor, Shaykh Shīrāzī[?],[455] (May his blessings be increased), has long held to the course of trust and confidence toward the dervishes dwelling at the threshold of poverty. At this time he has set off to circumambulate the most holy sanctuary of the Kaʿba, (May God most high increase it in glory and nobility).[456] The request from the magnanimous disposition of the eminent servants is that they not withhold the favor of their attention regarding whatever matter he may bring before them; this humble *faqīr* would be grateful. Since [your] mercies are well established, I have troubled [you] to this extent; may the exalted shadow [of your mercy] be perpetuated. Peace!

The servant of the pious, Muḥammad bin Ḥasan bin ʿAlā' al-ʿAṭṭār

483(489)

هو

یدیم الله تعالی ظلال دولته و معالیه و رفعة شانه

بعد از رفع نیازو عرض اخلاص معروض آنکه اوقات بوظایف
دعوات مرجو البرکات مصروف است ملاقات بروجه احسن
مرزوق باد بالنبی و آله الامجاد باز نموده می آید که دارنده صحیفه
المحبه خدمت شیخ شیرازی(؟)[457] زید توفیقها را مدتی مدید
است که بدرویشان آستان مسکنة آشیان طریقه رجوع و
اعتقاد واقع است درین وقت متوجه طوف حرم محترم کعبه

[455] "Shīrazī" is an approximate reading of the *nisba* since the Persian text is unclear.

[456] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[457] Shirāzī is an approximate reading of the *laqab*.

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شدند [زادها الله تعالی عزا و شرفا][458] ملتمس از مکارم اخلاق خدام عظام آنست که مهمی که رجوع نمایند التفات خواطر دریغ ندارند و المنة علی الفقیر الحقیر چون اشفاق مقرر بود این قدر مصدع شد ظل عالی مستدام باد والسلام

خادم الابرار محمد بن حسن بن علاءالعطار

484(490)

After the statement of supplication, desolation, weakness, and despair, it is submitted that you not [completely] erase the forsaken [*mahjūrān*] from your noble mind .

The needy one, Muḥammad Yaḥyā

484(490)

بعد از رفع نیازمندی و شکستگی و عجز و نامرادی معروض آنکه مهجورانرا بالکلیه از خاطر شریف محو نفرمایند والسلام والکرام

الفقیر محمد یحیی

485(491)

He!

After the presentation of prayers and supplications and desolation and poverty, it is submitted to the honorable servitors of his eminence, his excellency [the addressee] that the honorable refüge of *sayyid*-ship, Khwāja Sayyid Muḥammad, is one of [our] people. The request of

[458] Written on the right margin.

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this *faqīr* is that he may be given protection in his travel abroad. It certain that the request will be accepted by the favor of agreement. Peace and respect!

The needy one, Muḥammad Yaḥyā

485(491)

هو

بعد از عرض دعا و نیاز و شکستکی و افتقار معروض بملازمان جناب آنحضرت آنکه جناب سیادتمآبی خواجه سید محمد ازین مردم اند التماس این فقیر آنکه در غربت ایشانرا پناهی باشند مقرراست که ملتمس بشرف قبول مشرف خواهد شد والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر محمد یحیی

486(492)

After the presentation of supplications and prayers, it is submitted that Shīr ᶜAlī ibn Yūsuf Suldūz, who received the honor of coming before [to the court], has children and a household [here] in Samarqand. They are expressing much grief and agitation. If the servitors give [him] permission [to return home] it will not be in vain. I have not presumed or been so bold as to ask more.

The needy one, Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh[459]

486(492)

بعد از عرض نیازمندی و دعا معروض آنکه شیر علی بن یوسف سلدوز که بشرف ملازمت تشریف یافته در سمرقند فرزندان و

[459] Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh is the elder son of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār.

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متعلقان داشته بسی اظهار الم و بیحضوری میکنند اگر ملازمان
اجازت فرمایند ضایع نخواهند بود زیاده گستاخی و جرات
ننمودم

الفقیر محمد عبد الله

487(493)

He!

After the statement of supplication and the submission of sincere devotion, it is submitted to his exalted eminence, the refuge of *amīr*-ship of abundant justice, the asylum of the realm, the pride of the *amīrs* of this time, (May God most high extend the shadow of his *amir*-ship and good fortune),[460] that the time of the dervishes of [this] threshold is spent in [fulfilling] the duty of praying [for you]; may they be answered, in [the name of] the Prophet and his glorious family. It is submitted, further, that his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, the Murtaża-yi Aᶜẓam, Mujtaba-yi Akram,[461] Amīr Sayyid Maḥmūd, (May the shadow of his *sayyid*-ship be extended), has come to this *vilāyat* for various reasons and by various means; and out of necessity he must remain here. A group of his household was on that side [in Khurāsān], and his mind is occupied with them. The request from [your] magnanimity and infinite kindness is that you expend your exalted resolve and show him favor in such a way that permission [*rukhṣat*] may be obtained so that no one will hinder him on the road, and [so that] some of his people who remain there may be brought [under] the shadow of your protection and favor, and so the signs of it may become manifest. Since it has been constantly heard that the servitors [of his excellency] are showing utmost effort in addressing the affairs of all Muslims, especially to the affairs con-

[460] This *duᶜā* is written on the margin.

[461] Note the use of the same honorifics, "Murtaẓā-yi Aᶜẓam, Mujtabā-yi Akram," in letter 484(488), the content of which also concerns a family that had migrated from Mawarannahr and wanted to return to Khurāsān. In letter no. 482(488) the petitioner is named Sayyid Abū Turāb, and in the present letter he is named Amīr Sayyid Maḥmūd.

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cerning the eminent *sayyid*s, I have troubled [you] to this extent. I trust that that the request will not be denied. May the exalted shadow [of your mercy] be extended and perpetuated. Peace!

Servant of the pious, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ᶜAlā' al-ᶜAṭṭār

487(493)

هو

زید الله تعالی ظلال امارته و دولته

بعد از رفع نیاز و عرض اخلاص معروض عالیجناب امارت مآب عدالت شمار مملکت پناه افتخار الامراء فی الزمان [زیدالله تعالی ظلال امارته و دولته][462] آنکه اوقات درویشان آستان بوظایف دعاگویی مصروف است باجابت مقرون باد بالنبی و آله و الامجاد باز نموده می آید که جناب سیادت مآب مرتضی اعظم مجتبی اکرم امیر سید محمود مد ظل سیادته بوسایل ووسائط درین ولایت آمده اند و بحسب ضرورت در اینجا بودن می باید ایشان[را][463] جمعی از متعلقان در آن جانب بوده که توجه خاطر بجانب ایشان دارند التماس از کرم و عنایات بی غایات آنست که همت عالی مصروف داشته بنوعی التفات فرمایند که رخصت حاصل شود که در راه هیچکس مانع نشود و بعضی از مردم ایشان که آنجا می ماند در ظل همایت و عنایت خود دارند چنانچه آثار آن ظاهر گردد چون همواره شنوده شده که ملازمان همت در کفایت مهمات عامه مسلمین بذل جهد مینمایند بتخصیص در

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[462] Written on the right margin.

[463] Inserted for grammatical correctness.

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مهمات که تعلق بسادات عظام میدارد بدین قدر مصدع شد یقین
که ملتمس رد نشود ظلال عالی مدام و مستدام باد والسلام

خادم الابرار محمد بن حسن بن علاءالعطار

488(494)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted to the servitors [of his excellency] that the brother of the bearer of this letter died in that province. He [the bearer] has a letter concerning this affair from his eminence, the refuge of the Sharīᶜa. The request is that the servitors direct their noble mind so that his right[s] in his own abode [*maḥal*] may be established. I will not go on at length. May the divine guidance [of God] be [your] companion.

The needy one, Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh

488(494)

بعد از عرض دعا معروض ملازمان میگرداند که برادرحاملان
رقعه دران ولایت فوت کرده خطی درین باب از جناب شریعت
مآبی بدست دارند التماس آنکه ملازمان خاطر شریف ملتفت
گردانند که حق در محل خود قرارگیرد زیاده اطاله نرفت توفیق
رفیق باد

الفقیر محمد عبدالله

489(495)

May God most high perpetuate his power and may his bounty and benevolence extend over the two worlds![464]

[464] This *duᶜā* is written on the top right margin.

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His honor the exalted signet [of] his princely eminence, of angelic character and heavenly rank, of solar dignity, the star of the army, graced with felicity.

He is the world-ruler by whose justice the world is at rest; He is the king of kings [*shahanshāhī*] by whose glory the realm is adorned.

From the treasury of predestination and fate, in accordance with the decree [of the *āyat*]: "Thou givest Power to whom Thou pleasest,"[465] [the letter] reached the devoted dervishes.[466] In receiving that source of victory and good fortune, [he] fulfilled the conditions of respect[ful treatment]. Since it consisted of the good news of peace [*sulḥ*], which is the cause of adornment for the world and of tranquility for the world's inhabitants, he made [the *āyat*], "Praise be to God who has removed from us [all] sorrow"[467] the litany of [our] tongue, and they have attended to the uttering of fragrant blessings and prayers for [your] welfare, morning and night, at the assemblies of the elect and the common [*khāṣṣ va ᶜāmm*], and continue to do so. O Lord, answer the prayers of the sick-hearted. May the exalted shadow [of your kindness] be enduring and luminous for eternity.

The one needy of God, Yaḥyā

489(495)

[468] [خلدالله تعالی ملکه و دام علی العالمین بره و احسانه]

تشریف توقیع رفیع حضرت ملك ملك سیرت فلك رتبت

خورشید جاه ستاره سپاه سعادت قرین

جهانداری که هست از عدل او آسایش عالم

شهنشاهی که هست از فر او آرایش کشور

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[465] Qur'ān 3:26, "Thou givest Power to whom Thou pleasest, and Thou strippest off Power from whom Thou pleasest."

[466] The context suggests that a letter confirming the peace agreement between Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, and Sulṭān-Aḥmad was received by Khwāja Aḥrār. Yaḥyā, Khwāja Aḥrār's son, is writing this letter to acknowledge its receipt, praise God, and offer the blessings of Khwāja Aḥrār and his followers to the Sulṭān.

[467] Qur'ān. 35:34.

[468] Written on the upper right margin.

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از خزانه تقدیر و قضا بحکم تعز من تشاء بدرویشان مخلص رسید در استقبال آن سرمایه فتح و کامرانی شرایط تعظیم بجای آورد چون مبنی بود از خبر خیر صلح که موجب آرایش جهان و آرامش جهانیان است الحمدلله الذی اذهب عن الحزن ورد زبان ساخت و در صبح و شام در مجلس خاص و عام بفاتحه فایحه و دعاء خیر قیام نمود و می نمایند یارب دعاء خسته دلان مستجاب کن ظل عالی ابد الدهر پاینده و تابنده باد

الفقیر الی الله یحیی

490(496)

The petition is that the holy pivot of the people of discernment [*quṭb al-muhaqqiqīn*], Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, may his secret be sanctified, says:

On a field of battle, the king, knowing God,
Took countless prisoners from the [enemy] host;
He asked his *vazīr,* "O *vazīr*,
What is your view of this handful of prisoners?"
He answered: "The Just God has given you
That which you hold most dear, namely, victory;
That which God holds always most dear,
You [now] grant as well, namely pardon for all.[469]

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

490(496)

عرضه داشت آنکه حضرت قطب المحققین شیخ فریدالدین عطار قدس سره میفرماید:

[469] Khwāja ᶜAlī is apparently seeking amnesty for prisoners.

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در مصافی پادشاه حق شناس یافت از خیل اسیران بی قیاس
با وزیر خویشتن گفت ای وزیر چیست رای تو درین مشت اسیر
گفت دادت آن خدای دادگر آنچه داری دوستر یعنی ظفر
آنچه آن حق دوست تر دارد مدام توبکن آن نیز یعنی عفو عام

احقر العبید علی

491(497)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that Darvīsh Muḥammad and Darvīsh Aḥmad, two foster brothers [*kūkeltashān*] of his Highness Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, have stayed there [in Herat].[470] Their relatives here lamented for help a great deal and received a letter from me. Now someone has come from there [Herat] and presented a request, [saying,] "If you request it, his Royal Majesty [the Sulṭān] will release them." Out of necessity I am troubling you by requesting that [your] noble mind ensure that his Majesty frees them, so I may also be released. I trust that he will grant [this] favor. His excellency's fortune in both worlds is based on the favor of God Almighty and the followers of Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, (May God bless him and his family and grant them peace). Forgiving and forebearance are greatly holy. Peace and respect!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

491(497)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه درویش محمد و درویش احمد
کوکلتشان خدمت میرزا سلطان محود آنجا مانده است اینجا

[470] In an earlier letter, no. 269(274), Khwāja Aḥrār requests the release (presumably from prison) of two unnamed *kūkeltāshān.* As noted, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd, was the ruler of Ḥiṣār. His foster brothers were taken prisoner in the campaign of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā during the conflict near Balkh (1473-1474), which involved the army of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn and the forces of Sulṭān-Aḥmad (ruler in Samarqand) and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. Jāmī also wrote a letter (no. 255/260) in which he requested that the foster brothers, whom he names, be released. Khwāja Aḥrār may have been writing this letter to Jāmī to ask him to further assist in the release of the foster brothers. For Jāmī's letter, see Urunbaev, *Pis'ma avtografy*, 100, 139, fol. 28.

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متعلقان ایشان بسیار زاری کرده ازین فقیر خط گرفته بودند درین مدت از آنجا کسی آمده التماس کرد که اگر تو التماس میکنی حضرت سلطنت شعاری ایشانرا آزاد میکنند بضرورت تصدیع داده التماس میکنم که خاطر شریف بران دارند که آن حضرت ایشانرا آزاد کنند تا این فقیر نیز خلاص شوم یقین که ایشان عنایت خواهند کرد دولت دوجهانی آنحضرت باز بسته بعنایت حضرت حق سبحانه است و اتباع محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم عفو و تجاوز بسیار مبارك است والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

492(498)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his honor, Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥusayn is a learned man. The request is that you pardon him and honor him with a favor suitable to him. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

492(498)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت مولانا شیخ حسین مردم دانشمندند التماس آنکه از ایشان عفو فرموده بعنایتی که مناسب ایشان باشد ایشانرا مشرف گردانید والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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493(499)

After the expression of supplication, it is reported that what is requested and required by this *faqīr* from his Majesty [the Sulṭān] and all of his servitors, but particularly from your honor [the addressee]—of whom until now all that has been known is that you have endeavored with the utmost resolve so that nothing of the outer or inner [meaning] of the Sharīᶜa of the holy Muḥammad, (May God bless him and his family and grant him peace), may remain unmanifested—is that you consider this an opportune time and resolve that this *faqīr's* request, which I have often requested, may be manifested at the earliest possible time, so that by the power of this effort, total victory may be witnessed by all the world. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

493(499)

بعداز رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه ملتمس و بایست این فقیر از آن حضرت و تمام ملازمان ایشان بتخصیص از خدمت شما که تا این غایت جز آن دانسته نشده است که بکمال همت متوجه برآنید که ظاهر و باطن شریعت حضرت محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و علی آله و سلم چیزی ظاهر نشود آنست که وقت را غنیمت دانسته چنان همت دارند که ملتمس این فقیر که بکرات التماس کرده ام بر سبیل کمال زود ظاهر شود تا بقوت آن ورزش غلبه تمام مشهود عالمیان شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

494(500)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that since the request of this *faqīr* is clear to [your] illuminated mind, it is requested that

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the whole of [your] resolve be directed so that his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[471] does everything to which obtaining the felicity of the two worlds is bound and connected. This is nothing other than that [one's] deeds are such that God is satisfied [with them]; [and] the satisfaction of God is achieved only [by] conformity to the Sharīᶜa. The Sharīᶜa, at this time, means that the evil of the infidels, sinners, and debauchers [*kafara va fasaqa va fajara*] is kept far away from all provinces, through the efforts and assistance and conformity [to the Sharīᶜa]. It would be a shame for there to be descendants of a great dynasty [*khānadān-i buzurgī*][472] [when] the infidels, with thoughts of rebellion [*mukhālafat*], begin destruction. Peace!

The needy one ᶜUbayd Allāh

494(500)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه ملتمس این فقیر بر ضمیر منیر چون روشن است التماس آنکه همگی همت برآن باشد که آن حضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته][473] همه آن کنند که یافت سعادت دارین منوط و مربوط برآن باشد آن جز آنکه کارها چنان باشد که حق سبحانه راضی باشد هیچ نیست رضای حق سبحانه جز موافقت شریعت میسر نیست شریعت درین وقت آنکه شر کفره و فسقه و فجره به اهتمام و مدد و موافقت از تمام ولایات دور شود حیف باشد که اولاد خاندان بزرگی باشند کفره بتصور مخالفت خرابی آغاز کنند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

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[471] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[472] *Khānadān-i buzurg* refers to the Timurid dynasty.

[473] Written on the right margin.

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495(501)

After the statement of supplication, the petition is that this *faqīr* waits in expectation. Be so kind as to ensure, out of [your] pure kindness, that the travelers are given permission [*ijāzat*] as soon as possible. I trust that magnanimity will be shown [by you] and permission will soon be given. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

495(501)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت آنکه این فقیر را انتظاری هست
عنایت فرموده روندگانرا بمحض عنایت زودتر اجازت فرموده
شود که یقین که کرم فرموده اجازت بزودی خواهند فرمود
والسلام
الفقیر عبیدالله

496(502)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that Shaykh Ḥājjī, the tutor [*ataka*] of his honor, Mīrzā Sulṭān-Murād, together with [his] children, have remained there [in Herat]. His wet nurse [*anaka*], the mother of Sulṭān-Muḥammad, together with her son, and also Rūḥ-Parvar, the wet nurse of this group, have also remained there.[474]

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[474] Sulṭān-Murād Mīrzā (d. 1475) is one of Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd's ten sons. According to Khwāndamīr, Sulṭān-Murād served as governor in Garmser and Qandahar while his father was alive. After Abū Saᶜīd died while on campaign in Azerbaijan against the Aqquyunlu, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā sent him "to his brothers" (Sulṭān-Maḥmūd and Sulṭān-Aḥmad, most likely) in Mawarannahr, but "detecting unfriendliness in his brothers, he returned to Khurasan." In June of 1475, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā sent Sulṭān-Murād Mīrzā to Tiratu Fort, and "he was never heard from again." See HS Thackston, tombe 3, 406; HS, vol. 4, 101; Isfizārī, *Rawżat al-jannāt*, pt. II, 324. Sulṭān-Muḥammad is another of Abū Saᶜīd's sons. Sulṭān-Muḥammad Mīrzā, according to Khwāndamīr, was captured along with his brother, Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, by the party of Amīr Hasan Beg and imprisoned in Azerbaijan. He died on his way to Herat in 1493-94 (HS Thackston, tome 3, part 3, 405.; HS, 101). Khwāja Aḥrār

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The request is that through [your] pure kindness, they be given permission [to return to Samarqand]; each one has people who should be sent as well. It is certain that this [act of] kindness will entail good, for they have been separated for a long time and strongly yearn for one another. The hope, from the infinite graciousness of God Almighty, is that through His pure, unblemished kindness [you] may be honored with the blessings of both worlds, for it will become the cause for attaining felicity in the two worlds. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

495(501)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه شیخ حاجی اتکه خدمت میرزا سلطان مراد بفرزندان آنجا مانده است و انکه ایشان مادر سلطان محمد بفرزند او و روح پرور انکه این جماعت نیز آنجا مانده اند التماس آنکه بمحض عنایت ایشانرا اجازت فرموده شود که اینجانب هریك را کسان هستند تا ایشان بهمدیگر رسند یقین که این عنایت متضمن خیری خواهد شود چه دیرگاهست که جدا افتاده اند قوی آرزومند همدیگر شده اند امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه بمحض عنایت بی علت بتوفیق دارین مشرف گرداند که سبب یافت سعادت دوجهانی گردد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

497(503)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that here [in Samarqand] the dependents of his holy eminence, refuge of *sayyid*-ship,

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makes a second appeal for permission in letter no. 541(547).

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Sayyid Badr,[475] have heard [that] he is there [in Herat] as a captive of the servants [*khuddām*] of his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all Muslims).[476] He has children here [in Samarqand]. The request of his dependents from the royal benevolence is that his children be honored with a meeting with [their father]. Therefore, they have made this *faqīr* [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] their intermediary for the attainment of their goal. The request is that, out of consideration for the lineage of the *ahl-i bayt,* (May God's satisfaction be upon them all), he [Sayyid Badr] be sent to his children. Perhaps he may turn away from those [past] paths.[477] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

497(503)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت جناب سیادت مآبی سید بدررا اینجا متعلقان شنیده اند آنجا گرفتار خدام آن حضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین][478] شده اند اینجا ایشانرا فرزندان هستند ملتمس متعلقان ایشان از الطاف سلطانی آنست که فرزندان ایشانرا مشرف بملاقات ایشان گردانند بنابرین مقصود را وسیله یافت مقصود خود این فقیررا گردانیده اند التماس آنکه برای رعایت نسبت اهل بیت رضوان الله علیهم اجمعین ایشانرا پیش فرزندان ایشان فرستاده شود شاید که ایشانرا بازگشتی از آن طریقها شده باشد والسلام

الفقیرعبیدالله

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[475] A *sayyid* named "Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Sayyid Badr" is mentioned in letter no. 578(584a,b).

[476] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[477] The letter does not explain why this *sayyid* was being held prisoner.

[478] Written on the right margin.

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498(504)

The petition [*ʿarża-dāsht*] of this *faqīr* is that, since the masters of indigence made known the favor of the noble mind of his Royal Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all Muslims),[479] with regard to this *faqīr*, they request many recommendations to the servants [*khuddām*] of his excellency.[480] For this reason I am still quite ashamed. However, lest abandoning this service inadvertently occasions the hindrance of the manifestation of his excellency's mercy and magnanimity, I am also unable to abandon [such] rudeness. The request is that a line of forgiveness be drawn over this boldness.

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

498(504)

عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه بعد انکه ارباب احتیاج التفات خاطر شریف حضرت سلطنت شعاری [خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین][481] بنسبت این فقیر معلوم کردند التماس سپارش بخدام آن حضرت بسیار میکنند ازین جهت این فقیر بسی شرمنده نیز میشوم لیکن ترك این خدمت نیز موجب منع ظهور مرحمت و کرم آن حضرت ناگاه نشو[د] ترك گستاخی نیز نمی توان کرد التماس آنکه رقم عفو برین جراءت کشیده شود

الفقیر عبیدالله

[479] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[480] Khwāja Aḥrār may be referring to the Sufi community here.

[481] Written on the right margin.

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499(505)

After the statement supplication, the petition [*ʿarża-dāsht*] of this *faqīr* is that the household [*kūch*] of the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication has been there [in Khurāsān] for a long time; his province is this province [Mawarannahr]. He wishes to bring his household [here]. It is requested that the favorable attention of [your] noble mind be directed to ensure that his Majesty [the Sulṭān], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[482] may grant permission for him to bring his household [here]. It would be difficult [for it] to remain in a strange land [*ghurbat*] any longer. I trust that, through the kind attention of [your] noble mind, his goal will be achieved with ease. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

499(505)

بعداز رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه کوچ خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز دیرگاهست که آنجاست ولایت ایشان این ولایت است میخواهند که کوچ خود رابیارند ملتمس آنکه التفات خاطر شریف بروجهی واقع شود که آنحضرت [خلد ظلال عاطفته][483] رخصت دهند که ایشان کوچ خودرا بیارند بیش ازین در غربت بودن دشوار می باشد یقین آنست که به التفات خاطر شریف مقصود ایشان بسهولت میسر خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

[482] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[483] Written on the right margin.

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500(506)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearer of this letter of supplication has requested from this *faqīr* that your honor, through [your] pure kindness, release him from the extraordinary *nāmbardār* tax [*az ᶜāriża-yi nāmbardārī*].[484] Out of necessity, I request that [your] noble mind may ensure that he [the Sulṭān] release him. I trust that this intercession [*shifāᶜat*] on his behalf will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

500(506)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز ازین فقیر التماس
کرد که خدمت شما بمحض عنایت از عارضه نام برداری اورا
خلاص گردانند بضرورت التماس میکنم که خاطر شریف بران
باشد که اورا خلاص گردانند یقین آنست که این شفاعت بنسبت
او ارزانی خواهند داشت والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

501(507)

In His name, Glory be to Him!

It is hoped from the infinite favor of the Almighty that He make dominion in this world [*salṭanat-i īn ᶜālam*] the cause for finding true felicity, meaning obedience to the master of the Sharīᶜa [of the Prophet Muḥammad], (May the blessing of God be upon him and his family), in whatever he has said. The request is that, purely for God's sake, all resolve be expended in such way that the servants of God Almighty may find salvation from grief and sorrow. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

[484] See letter no. 430(435) of Muḥammad b. Amīn al-Dīn, in which he writes to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī to request an exemption from the *nāmbardār* tax.

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501(507)

باسمه سبحانه

امید از الطاف بی نهایت حق سبحانه آنکه سلطنت این عالم را سبب یافت سعادت حقیقیه گرداند یعنی انقیاد صاحب شریعت صلی الله علیه و علی آله در آنچه فرموده است التماس آنکه خالصا لوجهه سبحانه همگی همت مصروف بران باشد که بندگان حق سبحانه از اندوه و غم نجات یابند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

535(541)[485]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī, Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād,[486] is the guest of this *faqīr* here [in Samarqand].[487] The request is that his children may live peaceably in the shadow of protection [*ḥimāyat*] of your honor [in Herat], and not be burdened because of the *raᶜiyatī* tax. During the time of his Royal Majesty, the late lamented martyr Sulṭān [Abū Saᶜīd] [*Ḥażrat-i Sulṭān-i Shahīd-i Saᶜīd-i Maghfūr*], they had obtained consideration in some way. I trust that now as well, his Royal Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[488] will also distinguish them with [his] kindness. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

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[485] Letter nos. 502(508)-534(540) are written by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[486] The *sayyid*'s *nisba* indicates that he is a confectioner.

[487] The addressee of this letter is most likely ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, since in a postscript to letter no. 585(591), Khwāja ᶜAlī reminds the addressee (ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī) of this letter, and restates that Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād is a guest in Samarqand. In letter no. 332(337a-b), Khwāja Aḥrār reports that Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād, whom he describes as a long-time friend, has died; he requests favor for his children.

[488] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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535(541)[489]

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت مرتضی اعظم سید محمد قناد اینجا مهمان این فقیراند التماس آنکه فرزندان ایشان در ظل حمایت خدمت شما آسوده باشند و از جهت رعیتی باری نکشند درزمان حضرت سلطان شهید سعید مغفور بنوعی رعایت یافته بودند یقین که حالا نیز حضرت سلطنت شعاری [خلد ظلال عاطفته][490] بعنایتی سرافراز خواهند گردانند والسلام

536(542)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that Amīr ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Tābān has remained there [in Herat]; he has relatives [*mutaᶜalliqān*] here [in Samarqand], whose request from his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all Muslims),[491] is that he show mercy toward these poor souls [and] issue him [ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Tābān] permission [*ijāzat farmāyand*] [to return to Samarqand]. They are also appealing to me, [saying]: "Request from his Majesty that he show mercy and send him [Amīr Tābān] to us." The request is that you be so kind as to extend [your] mercy upon his relatives, [and that] he be given permission [to return]. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

536(542)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه امیر عبدالرحمن تابان آنجا مانده است اینجا متعلقان دارد که التماس ایشان از آن حضرت خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین آنست که ترحم به این فقیران نموده

[489] Letter nos. 502(508)-534(540) are written by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.

[490] Written on the right margin.

[491] This *duᶜā* is written in the right margin.

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اورا اجازت فرمایند این فقیر را نیز درخواست میکنند که از آن حضرت التماس کن که ترحم نموده اورا پیش ما فرستند التماس آنکه عنایت فرموده ترحم بر متعلقان او کرده اورا اجازت فرموده شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

537(543)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that Abū'l-Khayr Khān, son of Yaʿqūb Oghlān, has resided in this *vilāyat* [Mawarannahr] for a long time. His sister was [married] to Amīr Dawlat Khwāja Uzbek.[492] Amīr Dawlat Khwāja has died; the sister [of Abū'l-Khayr Khān] has no one left, [for] her mother and brother have passed away. The request of the Khān's sister and of the Khān [himself] is that, through the kind attention of [your] noble mind, it may be arranged for the Khān's sister to come here to the Khān. They have made this *faqīr* the intermediary for achieving their goal. The request is that through the kind attention of your noble mind, it may be arranged for them to be given permission [*rukhṣat*] to come to this side [Mawarannahr]. I trust that the request will be ennobled with the honor of acceptance. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār.

537(543)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه ابوالخیر خان پسر یعقوب اوغلان دیرگاهست که درین ولایت متوطن شده اند همشیره ایشان به امیر دولتخواجه اوزبك بوده است امیر دولتخواجه فوت کرده

[492] The Chinggisid status of Abū'l-Khayr Khān and Yaʿqūb Oghlān, and the Uzbek tribal affiliation of Amīr Dawlat Khwāja Uzbek are notable. For references to Dawlat Khwāja Uzbek, see HS, 128, 156; HS Thackston, tome 3, 418, 431.

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است همشیره ایشان را هیچ کس نمانده است مادر و برادر نقل
کرده است التماس همشیره خان و خان آنست که به التفات خاطر
شریف چنان شود که همشیره خان اینجا پیش خان تواند آمد این
فقیر را نیز وسیله مقصود خود گردانیده اند التماس آنکه به
التفات خاطر شریف چنان شود که ایشانرا رخصة آمدن
باینجانب شود یقین که ملتمس بشرف قبول مشرف خواهد شد
والسلام

538(544)

After the statement of supplication, the petition [*ᶜarża-dāsht*] of this *faqīr* is that I desire very much to have the honor of meeting [with you] [at least] once; I do not know how or when this felicity may be achieved. It is heard that you have sometimes become weary of your service to his Majesty because of the vagaries of events [*ᶜavāriż-i vaqā'iᶜ*];[493] the request is that, in order for you to aid the Muslims, your noble mind may continue to serve at the court [*darbār*]. The hope is that, because the mind of a *faqīr* may be spared some burden and some joy may come to his heart, an opening may become manifest in his heart in such a way that [even] in the height of outward dissipation [*tafriqa-yi ṣūrī*], his [inner] joy [*dhawq*] and witnessing [*shuhūd*] and presence [*ḥużūr*] through God Almighty may increase. Solitude for the Muslims in these times, when no one has concern for them, appears to be the best of all actions. Peace!

The needy one ᶜUbayd Allāh

[493] The weariness to which Khwāja Aḥrār refers may be ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī's troublesome period at the Herat court during which Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā initiated his policy of reform. See Khwāja Aḥrār's letter no. 306(310) to Jāmī, in which he also addresses Navā'ī's distress.

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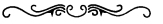
538(544)

بعد از رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقر آنکه این فقیر را آرزوی آنکه بشرف ملاقات یك کرت مشرف شوم بسیار است نمی دانم که این سعادت چگونه و کی میسر شود شنیده می شود که خدمت شما ر بسبب عوارض وقایع گاهی از ملازمت آن حضرت ملالت می شود التماس آنکه برای آنکه مسلمین را مددی کنید خاطر شریف [در][494] دربار ملازمت دارند امید آنست که بسبب آنکه خاطر فقیری از باری نجات یابد و فرحی بدل او رسد کشادی در دل چنان ظاهر شود که در عین تفرقه صوری ذوق و شهود و حضور بحق سبحانه زیاده شود غم مسلمین خوردن درین وقت که کسی را غم ایشان نیست بهترین اعمال مینماید والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله



539(545a,b)[495]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that his holiness, the great descendant of ᶜAlī, was here for a while [in Samarqand] far away from his [native] *vilāyat* and his companions. Now he has set out. The request is that, should he appeal to [your] servitors in some matter, for the sake of honoring the lineage of the *ahl-i bayt*, (May God's satisfaction be upon them all), your noble mind be directed toward his concern, [so that] he may not need to be bothered by anyone. I trust that the request will be granted. Peace!

[No signature] In the handwriting of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār

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[494] Inserted for clarity.

[495] This letter is pasted into the album in two parts, 545a and 545b, fol. 40a.

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539(545a,b)[496]

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت مرتضی اعظم مدتی اینجا بودند از ولایت و اقران خود دور بودند این زمان متوجه شده اند التماس آنکه بمهمی اگر رجوع بملازمان کنند برای اعزاز نسبت اهل بیت رضوان الله علیهم اجمعین خاطر شریف ملتفت بمهم ایشان باشد تشویشی از مردم به ایشان نرسد یقین که ملتمس مبذول خواهد بود والسلام

540(546)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that this *faqīr* does not deserve for his Majesty and the servitors of his Majesty to show such kindness [to him]. The request is that your noble mind may be directed to ensure that his Majesty spend the blessing of rulership, which is the most powerful means of obtaining the greatest blessing, namely obtaining the satisfaction of the Lord, (May His mention be exalted), so that he may be quickly be honored with an increase in worldly and spiritual felicity. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

540(546)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه این فقیر را حد آن نبود که آن حضرت و ملازمان آن حضرت این چنین عنایت فرمایند التماس آنکه خاطر شریف ملتفت به آن باشد که آن حضرت نعمت سلطنت را که قویترین سبب است به یافت اعظم نعم که یافت رضای

[496] This letter is pasted into the album in two parts, 545a and 545b, fol. 40a. The second part on 545b begins with ملازمان. The last phrase of the letter, beginning with نرسد, is written at the top of the latter section.

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خداوند است جل ذکره صرف کنند تا بمزید سعادت صوری و معنوی بزودی مشرف گردند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

541(547)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that among the people of his eminence, the *makhdūmzāda* Mīrzā Sulṭān-Murād, several persons such as Sulṭān-Muḥammad Ataka and several others have remained there [in Herat].[497] They have relatives [*mutaᶜalliqān*] here; they are greatly aggrieved. They are asking this *faqīr,* [saying], "Request from his Majesty that, through [his] pure compassion [toward] the relatives of that man [who are] here, he be so kind as to give permission [for them to come to Samarqand]." The request is that [you] draw the line of forgiveness over their offense, release them, and issue [them] permission [to leave]. I trust that the request will be granted, through [your] pure kindness.

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

541(547)

بعداز رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه از کسان خدمت مخدوم زاده میرزا سلطان مراد چند کس مثل سلطان محمد اتکه و چندی دیگر آنجا مانده بوده اند اینجا متعلقان دارند بسیار متاءلمند این فقیر را درخواست میکنند که از آن حضرت التماس کن که ایشان بمحض مرحمت بنسبت متعلقان اینجائی آن مردم عنایت فرموده اجازت فرمایند التماس آنکه رقم عفو بر جریمه ایشان کشیده ایشانرا آزاد

[497] As mentioned above, Sulṭān-Murād and Sulṭān-Muḥammad are sons of the late Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd; see letter no. 496(502) for another appeal by Khwāja Aḥrār in which he requests permission for persons in the retinue of Sulṭān-Murād to return to their family in Samarqand.

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کرده اجازت فرمایند یقین که ملتمس بمحض عنایت مبذول خواهد بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

542(548a,b,c,d)[498]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication has a request from your honor which he will bring to [your] noble mind. The request is that, if it may yield good for him, it may be found in the place of acceptance. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

542(548a,b,c,d)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز را از خدمت شما التماس است که بعرض شریف خواهند رسا[نید] التماس آنکه اگر خیر ایشان دران باشد ملتمس در محل قبول واقع شود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

543(549)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the honorable bearer of this letter has shown much effort in engaging in the acquisition of scholarly excellence [*iktisāb-i fażā'il-i ᶜilmīya*]; insofar as he has not succeeded in engaging in this effort very much here [in Samarqand], because of [various] circumstances, he has departed to that side [Khurāsān]. The request is that through the support and assistance of your honor, he may be able to engage in his work. I trust that the

[498] This letter is found in four fragments glued onto the left margin of fol. 40b.

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servitors would facilitate this desire of his without a request from this *faqīr;* however, "the agent is forgiven."[499] Peace!

The needy one ᶜUbayd Allāh

543(549)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز را اهتمام به آنکه به اکتساب فضایل علمیه مشغول باشند بسیار است اینجا بسبب عوارض بکاری چندان مشغولی چونکه میسر نمی شد متوجه به آن جانب شده اند التماس آنکه بمعاونت و مدد خدمت شما بکار خود مشغول توانند بود یقین که این مراد ایشان را بی التماس این فقیر از ملازمان میسر است لیکن الماءمور معذور والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

544(550)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that inasmuchas the holy Khwāja is to be ennobled with the honor of meeting with your honor,[500] I trust that your honor will present him in the proper fashion before his Royal Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be extended over all Muslims).[501] It is clear to all that he [the Khwāja] is from an eminent family [*khānadān-i buzurg*]; his Majesty knows this too. I trust that he [the Sulṭān] will bestow kindnesses and favors without limit.

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

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[499] Here, with his customary politeness, Khwāja Aḥrār asks forgiveness for making his request.

[500] It is not clear who the holy khwāja is. Since the letter is written by Khwāja Aḥrār, it is not likely to be he.

[501] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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544(550)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه چونکه خدمت خواجه بشرف
ملاقات خدمت شما مشرف خواهند شد یقین آنست که خدمت
شما ایشانرا بران وجهی که می باید پیش حضرت سلطنت
شعاری [خلد ظلال عاطفته علی مفارق المسلمین][502] خواهند
نمود پیش همه روشن است که ایشان از خاندان بزرگ اند
آنحضرت نیز می دانند یقین که عنایت و الطاف بی نهایت ارزانی
خواهند داشت

الفقیر عبیدالله

545(551)

The request is that, through the continuation of expressions of supplication and the utmost abjection and poverty, it may be requested from God Almighty that through the pure kindness of unceasing consciousness of His holy Self, [you] may be ennobled with [entry into] the *ṭarīqa* of the Khwājagān, (May God bless their souls), so that through the mediation of unceasing consciousness of the holy God Almighty, nothing may be witnessed in the mirror of the world other than the True Goal [*maqṣūd-i ḥaqīqī*], especially in the mirror of the *sulṭāns* and rulers [*ḥukkām*], which is the greatest. Inasmuch as God Almighty has ennobled [you] with the honor of bonds of affection with the Great Family [of the Timurids] [*khanadān-i buzurg*], you should take the burden of the Khwājagān upon yourself and lose yourself in the affairs of the Muslims, so that you may be ennobled with the honor of blessings in return.[503] Whoever is for God, God is for him.

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[502] Written on the right margin.

[503] In his letter, most likely written to ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī, Khwāja Aḥrār draws a connection between closeness and service to God, the Timurid house, and the Khwājagān.

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Annihilate yourself [*nīst shū*] and your being shall emerge from behind.

Peace and respect!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

545(551)

التماس آنکه بدوام عرض نیاز و کمال انکسار و افتقار از حق سبحانه طلبیده شود که بمحض عنایت مدام آگاهی بحضرت خود بطریقه خواجگان قدس الله ارواحهم مشرف گرداند تا بتوسط دوام آگاهی بجناب حق سبحانه در مرآة عالم جز مقصود حقیقی مشهود نباشد بتخصیص در مرآة سلاطین و حکام که اوسع محال است چونکه بشرف ارتباط حبی بخاندان بزرگ حق سبحانه مشرف گردانیده است باید که بار خواجگان را بر خود گرفته خود را در مصالح مسلمین گم کرده شود تا بشرف نعم العوض مشرف شوند من کان لله کان الله له

نیست شو تا هستیت از پی رسد

والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر عبیدالله

546(552)

After the statement [of supplication], it is reported that his honor, Mawlānā Muḥammad Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Mu'min, remains in that *vilāyat* [Khurāsān]; his relatives [*mutaᶜalliqān*] are longing [for him]. The request is that [you] be so kind as to ensure that he may obtain permission [to leave] and that through the assistance and kindness of

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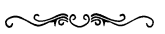
your honor, he is able to come here [to Samarqand]. I trust that kindness will be shown with regard to him. Peace!

The needy one ᶜUbayd Allāh

546(552)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت مولانا محمد خواجه
عبدالمومن درآن ولایت ماندند اینجا متعلقان ایشان آرزومند
میباشند التماس آنکه چنان عنایت فرمایند که ایشان اجازت یافته
بمدد و عنایت خدمت شما اینجا توانند رسید یقین آنست که
عنایت بنسبت ایشان ارزانی داشته ملتمس مبذول خواهد بود
والسلام
الفقیر عبیدالله



547(553)

After the statement [of supplication], it is reported as follows: It has become clear that [your] noble mind, through pure kindness, has been directed to the condition of this helpless one [*dar-mānda*] in such a way as is clear and evident to all. From this side, we do not know anything appropriate that we could offer in response other than [to say,] "May God reward you with good on our behalf."

For a long time, because of hearing the praises of his eminence Sayyid Amīr ᶜAlī, I have let my heart be captured by affection for him. I have wished very much for a meeting with him, for he has become a dear man of fine virtues, more precious than the philosopher's stone [*al-kibrīt al- aḥmar*]. It has been heard that, with respect to him, certain [people]—who, in our opinion, have committed a deviation—have passed on reports that are not worthy of that noble man. The request is that, on the supposition that something may have happened through his people, out of necessity, finding a basis for ascertaining the truth of the matter [and] making the essence of the

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issue a cause for increasing confidence in his holiness [Sayyid Amīr ᶜAlī] are required by fair knowledge of the truth; and especially if nothing happened, and therefore what became evident was something that caused an increase in the good fortune of the servitors of his Royal Majesty, then by all means I am requesting that, purely for the sake of God, this sort of talk may not become a cause for diminishing the affection and respect of the servitors [toward him]. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

547(553)

بعد از رفع [نیاز] مرفوع آنکه یقین شده است که خاطر شریف بمحض عنایت ملتفت به احوال این درمانده بروجهی شده است که پیش همگنان بس ظاهر وپیداست ازین جانب در مقابله جزآنکه جزاکم الله عنا خیرا بتقدیم رسانیم هیچ چیز مناسب نمیدانیم این فقیر از دیرگاه بسبب شنیدن اوصاف حضرت سید امیرعلی دل خود را گرفتار محبت ایشان گردانیده ام آرزوی ملاقات بملازمان ایشان بسیار است چه مردم عزیز نیکو خصال اعز من الکبریت الاحمر شده اند شنیده شد که بنسبت ایشان بعضی بگمان ما آنکه انحرافی داشته اند خبری رسانیده که مناسب آن جناب نیست التماس آنکه بر تقدیری که چیزی از کسان ایشان واقع شده باشد بضرورت محمل صحیح آنرا یافتن نفس آنرا سبب زیادتی اعتقاد بخدمت ایشان ساختن از ضرورات حسن ظن است خصوصا که چیزی واقع نشده باشد ولهذا آنچه ظاهر شده چیزی بوده که سبب زیادتی دولت ملازمان حضرت سلطنت شعاری شد باری التماس میکنیم که خالصا لوجهه

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سبحانه این نوع گفت و گو سبب نقصان محبت و احترام
ملازمان نشود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

548(554-555)[504]

After the statement of supplication, the petition [*ᶜarża-dāsht*] of this *faqīr* is that Amīr Muḥammad-ᶜAlī Bakhshī had a residential compound [*ḥavālī*], as well as an underground canal [*kārīz*] that belonged to [*taᶜalluq gerefta ast*][505] his minor children [*nārasidagān*]. His request is that through a royal directive [*ishārat-i ᶜalī*] of his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated),[506] his *ḥavālī* may go to him, and the *kārīz* to [his] minor children. [My] request is that his request be carried out. The reason for such impudence [on my part] is that his Majesty has made acting as required by the Sharīᶜa obligatory for himself. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

548(554-555)[507]

بعداز رفع نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه امیر محمد علی
بخشی را حوالی بوده است و کاریزی که بنارسیده گان او تعلق
گرفته است ملتمس او آنست که به اشارت عالی آنحضرت [خلد

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[504] Letter no. 554 in the original autograph album came loose and was lost; only the signature, *al-faqīr, ᶜUbayd Allāh* remains. The remainder of the letter is written on letter no. 555.

[505] The exact meaning of the phrase, *taᶜalluq gerefta ast*, is not clear, nor is it evident why Amīr Muḥammad-ᶜAlī Bakhshī needed a royal directive for the *ḥavālī* to go to him. There may have been some legal dispute involving these properties.

[506] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[507] Letter no. 554 in the original autograph album came loose and was lost; only the signature, *al-faqīr, ᶜUbayd Allāh* remains. The remainder of the letter is written on letter no. 555.

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ظلال عاطفته][508] حوالی او باو برسد و کاریز به نارسیده گان برسد التماس آنکه ملتمس او برآورده شود این همه گستاخی را سبب آنست که آن حضرت عمل بموجب شریعت را برخود لازم گردانیده اند والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

549(556)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the sister of the bearer[s][509] of this letter was [married] to Amīr Pīr Ḥājjī. After his death, that woman, since her relatives—such as her father and brother—are here [in Samarqand], sent a message [saying,] "Come and take me [to Samarqand]." Hoping in the mercy of the servitors [of his Majesty, (May the shadows of his kindness be perpetuated), he [the bearer] has set off to kiss [the royal] threshold. The request is that through the kind attention of your noble mind, it may be arranged that their sister may come together with him [to Samarqand]. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

549(556)

بعداز رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه همشیره دارندگان رقعه نیاز به امیر پیرحاجی بوده است بعد فوت او آن ضعیفه را چونکه خویشان مثل پدر و برادر اینجاست پیغام کرده بوده ست که آمده مرا برند به امید مرحمت ملازمان [خلد ظلال عواطفه][510] متوجه عتبه بوسی شده است التماس آنکه به التفات خاطر شریف چنان شود

[508] Written on the right margin.

[509] *Dārandegān* is written in the manuscript. However, based on the context of the letter, apparently only the woman's brother went to Herat.

[510] Written on the top margin.

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که همشیره ایشان همراه ایشان بیاید والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

550(557)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that this *faqīr* had been ill when Mawlānā Muḥammad was sent to kiss the [the royal] threshold in order to obtain [your] worldly and spiritual help.[511] Now he has obtained a little help. Hope is firm that through the kind attention of your noble mind, full health will be restored. Now, inasmuch as the bearer of the letter of supplication was leaving from here [Samarqand], I have the expectation that the one who is going [Mawlānā Muḥammad] may come [back] more quickly, having replied [to your letter] and having reported [his own] condition before the servitors.[512] I trust that [you] will distinguish [me] with your worldly and spiritual aid. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

550(557)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه این فقیر را عارضه بود که مولانا محمد را بعتبه بوسی فرستاده شده بود تا استمدادی صوری و معنوی حاصل کند درین وقت اندك تعاونی کرده است رجا واثق که به التفات خواطر شریفه صحت کلی میسر شود درین وقت دارنده رقعه نیاز چونکه ازینجا میرفت منتظر هستم که رونده

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[511] The *duᶜā* is written in the top margin of the letter. Mawlānā Muḥammad Qāzī was, according to ᶜAbd al-Avval, a select member of the servitors of Khwāja Aḥrār; see letter no. 379(385). He is mentioned in letters of Khwāja Aḥrār, ᶜAbd al-Avval, and Khwāja ᶜAlī (see letter nos. 55(57), 379(385), and 386(392) respectively).

[512] Mawlānā Muḥammad traveled to the Herat court to obtain medical help and spiritual support for Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh in his illness. Khwāja Aḥrār is apparently writing this letter in response to a letter that was sent from Herat to inquire about the status of his health.

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زودتر بیایند جواب کرده پیش ملازمان اعلام از حال خود کرده
شد یقین که بمدد صوری و معنوی سرافراز خواهند گردانند
والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

551(558)

After the statement of supplication, the petition of this *faqīr* is that if God Almighty should wish the province of Khwārazm to become prosperous, it will happen without the Muslims who have settled [in Khurāsān] leaving their country [*vaṭan*] and becoming separated from one another. The request is that [your] noble mind be directed to ensure that Muslims are not displaced [*bī-jā nashavand*] from their familiar homelands [*awṭān-i ma'lūfa*]. The honorable bearer of this letter of supplication and his relatives [*muta^{c}alliqān*] have had a longstanding acquaintance and friendship with this *faqīr*; the request is that they be spared the upheaval of [having to] move [*tafriqa-yi kūch*] to Khwārazm [merely] because their ancestors were from that province.[513] I trust that this request will be granted. Peace!

The needy one ^{c}Ubayd Allāh

551(558)

بعد از عرض نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه اگر حق سبحانه
خواسته باشد که ولایت خوارزم معمور شود خواهد شد بی آنکه
مسلمانان که متوطن شده اند جلاء وطن کنند و از همدیگر جدا

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[513] In the *Makārim al-akhlāq*, Khwāndamīr states that ^{c}Alī Shīr Navā'ī objected nine times to what he felt were unjust decisions of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. He reportedly asked the Sulṭān eleven times to rescind a decision regarding the migration of persons, and, as a result of a special order, only 2,000 of 3,000 families migrated. See *Makārim al-akhlāq: A Treatise on ^{c}Alīshīr Navā'ī by Ghiyāth ad-Dīn b. Humām ad-Dīn Muḥammad "Khvāndamīr,"* ed. T. Gandjeï (Cambridge, 1979), 72-73.

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شوند التماس آنکه خواطر شریف ملتفت بآن باشد که مسلمین از
اوطان ماءلوفه بی جا نشوند خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز و متعلقان
اورا سابقه آشنایی و تودد به این فقیر هست التماس آنکه ایشان
بعلت آنکه پدران ایشان از آن ولایت اند در تفرقه کوچ خوارزم
در امان باشند یقین که ملتمس مبذول خواهد بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

552(559)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the honorable bearer of this letter, Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Vāḥid,[514] belongs to the eminent family of his holiness the repository of guidance [*hidāyat-intisāb*].[515] He has set out for that side [Khurāsān] in order to engage in the study of religious sciences, in which his eminent ancestors, (May God bless their souls), were engaged. I trust that [your] noble mind will be [aware] of his situation; however, this *faqīr* would [also] request that the kind attention of your noble mind may be [focused] upon him in such a manner that he is able to engage in his work.[516] Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

552(559)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز خواجه
عبدالواحد از خاندان بزرگ حضرت هدایت انتساب میباشند

---

[514] ᶜAbd al-Vāsiᶜ Niẓāmī Bākharzī mentions a Mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Vaḥid, who was a *mudarris* in the Jamālīya madrasa in the Chahār-sūq of Herat (*Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, 254).

[515] The family is unclear, although Khwāja Aḥrār may be referring to a descendant of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband or Muḥammad Pārsā.

[516] Here Khwāja Aḥrār is requesting material support for ᶜAbd al-Vāḥid.

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متوجه بآن جانب از برای تحصیل علوم دینی که آبا و اجداد عظام قدس الله ارواحهم مشغول بوده اند مشغول شوند یقین که خاطر شریف به احوال ایشان خواهد شد لیکن این فقیر نیز التماس میکنم که به ایشان التفات خاطر شریف بر نهجی شود که ایشان بکار خود مشغول توانند شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

553[517]

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that a certain Darvīsh Aḥmad, a nephew [brother's son] of Amīr Sayyid Murād,[518] was in the service of his Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā]; because of [some] offense, he has been imprisoned. He has a mother here [in Samarqand]; she is suffering greatly because of her separation from him. Now that she has heard that he has been imprisoned for some crime, she is suffering beyond all measure. The request is that [you] direct [your] noble mind toward releasing him from imprisonment, in such a way that he may be released and can come here to be with his mother. I trust that, through [your] pure mercy toward his mother and [your] kindness to this *faqīr*, what is requested will be granted. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh[519]

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[517] The number 553 has been assigned by Asom Urunbaev; in the original manuscript this letter, which is located under no. 552(559) on fol. 41b, has no number.

[518] Amīr Sayyid Murād (identified as Amīr Sayyid Murād Oghlaqchï by Khwāndamīr) served under Sulṭān Abū Saᶜīd, and after his death, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (HS Thackston, tome 3, part 3, 422; HS, 138). Isfizārī describes Amīr Sayyid Murād as one of the "great *amīr*s of the late Sulṭān." He held the position of *amīr* in the *dīvān-i aᶜlā* (*dar dīvān-i aᶜlā be maqām-i imārat makhṣūṣ gasht*). See Isfizārī, pt. 2, 313.

[519] This signature is written on the upper right corner of letter no. 554(560).

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553[520]

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه درویش احمد نام برادر زاده امیر سید مراد در ملازمت آن حضرت بوده است بسبب جریمه گرفتار شده بوده است اینجا مادری دارد قوی متاءلم کز[521] فرقت او می بوده این زمان که شنیده است او بگناهی گرفتار شده است از اندازه بیرون متاءلم است التماس آنکه در تخلیص اواز گرفتاری خاطر شریف ملتفت گردانیده چنان شود که او خلاص شده اینجا پیش مادر خود تواند آمد یقین ملتمس بمحض ترحم بنسبت مادر او و عنایت باین فقیر مبذول خواهد بود والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله[522]

554(560)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that the bearers of this letter of supplication had come from that side [Khurāsān] to this side [Mawarannahr]. Since being in a foreign land [*bāshīdan dar ghurbat*] was difficult [for them], they have returned to [their] homeland [in Khurāsān]. The request is that they may find kindness and compassion so that they may be in their native place and engage in their own affairs. I trust that what is requested will be ennobled with the honor of acceptance. Peace!

The needy one, ʿUbayd Allāh

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[520] The number 553 has been assigned by Asom Urunbaev; in the original manuscript this letter, which is located under no. 552(559) on fol. 41b, has no number.

[521] Meaning که از.

[522] The signature is written on the upper right corner of letter no. 554(560).

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554(560)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه دارندگان رقعه نیاز از آن جانب به این جانب آمده بودند چونکه باشیدن در غربة دشوار بود بوطن اصلی رجوع کردند التماس آنکه عنایت و مرحمتی چنان یابند که توانند در جایگاه خود باشند و بکار خود مشغول بود یقین که ملتمس بشرف قبول مشرف خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

555(561)

After the statement of supplication, it is reported that, inasmuch as his honor, Mawlānā Abū Saᶜīd, has always ennobled this *faqīr* with the honor of [his] companionship [*muṣāḥabat*],[523] it has now happened that his relatives [*mutaᶜālliqān*] are on that side [in Khurāsān]; insofar as it is in the mind of this *faqīr* that he always ennobles this *faqīr* with [his] company, the request is that [you] show favor in such a way that it is ordered that his relatives not be troubled on that side. I trust that what is requested will be ennobled with the honor of acceptance. Peace!

The needy one, ᶜUbayd Allāh

555(561)

بعد از رفع نیاز مرفوع آنکه خدمت مولانا ابوسعید چونکه همیشه این فقیر را بشرف مصاحبت مشرف گردانیده اند درین وقت چنان واقع شد که متعلقان ایشان درآن جانبند چونکه در خاطر

[523] Khwāja Aḥrār is referring to his disciple, Mawlānā Abū Saᶜīd, who was a native of Awbāh, a village near Herat. Abū Saᶜīd is the author of three letters in the *Majmūᶜa-yi murāsalāt*, letter nos. 460(466), 461(467), and 464(468).

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این فقیر است که همیشه ایشان بشرف صحبت این فقیر را مشرف
گردانند التماس آنکه چنان عنایت فرمایند که فرموده شود که
متعلقان ایشان درآن جانب تشویش نکشند یقین که ملتمس
بشرف قبول مشرف خواهد شد والسلام

الفقیر عبیدالله

556(562)

After the performance of [the obligations of] sincere servitude, it is presented to the servitors of his excellency, the refuge of *amīr*-ship [ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī], (May God most high extend the good fortune of his blessings over all Muslims), from the holy [Lord] of gracious favor, that the honor of meeting [you] … [524] and salutations. After this, it is honored with announcement and declaration to the exalted mind of the servitors that because they have brought pleasing news, the holy Khwāja, (May God bless him), has issued a directive [*ishārat farmūdand*],[525] [saying,] "Recommend Shaykh Abū Saᶜīd Aghā and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Aghā to the servitors of that celestial [court], so that out of the magnanimity of [your] person, a royal directive [*ishārāt-i ᶜālī*] may be issued to the servitors not to withhold the gaze of mercy and compassion [from them]." It is firmly certain that [you] will be so kind and not deny the request of [your] devoted friends [*muḥibbān*]. He is the judge! May [your] life be long!

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

556(562)

هو

بعد از ادای عبودیت صادقانه بعز عرض ملازمان حضرت
[امارت پناهی ادام الله تعالی میامن برکاته علی مفارق

[524] Half of the line is unclear.

[525] Khwāja ᶜAlī is evidently writing this letter on behalf of Khwāja Aḥrār.

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المسلمین][526] میرساند از حضرت الرعایه لطیفه که بشرف ملاقات باشد...[527] و تحیت بعد هذا بشرف اعلام و انهای رای عالی ملازمان میرود که بجهت آنکه اخبار دلپسند آوردند حضرت خواجه سلمه الله اشارت فرمودند که بملازمان آن آستان فلك آشیان شیخ ابوسعید اغا و سلطان محمود اغا را سپارش نمای که از راه کرم وجود بملازمان اشارت عالی شود که نظر شفقت و مرحمت دریغ نفرمایند مقرر است که عنایت فرموده ملتمس محبان را رد نخوهند کرد حاکمند عمر باد

احقر العبید علی

557(563)

After the obligations of servitude, it is presented in supplication to the servitors of his Majesty, that the holy refuge of *sayyid*-ship, (May his shadow [of favor] be extended), at the time when he honored [us with a visit], brought reports about the health of [your] noble person and news concerning the concord between the rulers [*pādishāhān*], on which the tranquility of the Muslims depends;[528] [these reports] were the cause of joy and contentment for the devoted servants [*mukhliṣān*]. For this reason, [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh] sent his honor, Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad ᶜAlī along with [the *sayyid*] so that they might be ennobled by the honor of serving [you] and perform that which is the duty of service. The holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd

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[526] Written on the right margin.

[527] Half of the line is unclear.

[528] The letter is evidently addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī; see letter no. 584(590) for comparison. The *sayyid* is not named. Apparently Khwāja Aḥrār has sent him along with Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad ᶜAlī to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā to serve as a mediator in the peace negotiations between Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. This is confirmed by letter no. 584(590) of Khwāja ᶜAlī. Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad is also mentioned by ᶜAbd al-Avval in letter no. 565(571).

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Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), has placed the utmost trust in the magnanimity of his Majesty, and has made efforts in this matter; it is certain that since the perfect mercy is that which is universal, [you] will not withhold [your] kindness with regard to the concord and friendship of the *sulṭāns*, and [you] will take care to ensure that his honor, Amīr Muḥammad ᶜAlī may set out for this side in complete contentment. He is the judge! Long life!

The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī

The holy refuge of *sayyid*-ship has the intention of making a journey [to Mecca?]. The holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God bless him), has directed his Majesty that he should not withhold [his] kindness and mercy in issuing permission [*ijāzat*] to him and his companions. It is requested and expected that [you] will ennoble him with the honor of acceptance, [that you will] bestow the attention of [your] noble mind upon the affairs, in part and in whole, of the holy refuge of *sayyid*-ship, and especially [that you will] not withhold [your] kindness in the matter of the journey of him and his companions. He is the judge! May [your] life be long![529]

557(563)

بعداز لوازم عبودیت نیازمندانه بعز عرض ملازمان حضرت
میرساند که حضرت سیادتمآبی مد ظله در محلی که تشریف
آورده بودند اخبار سلامتی وجود شریف و اخباری که بجهت
دوستی پادشاهان که رفاهیت مسلمین درآن است رسانیدند سبب
سرور و حضور مخلصان گشتند از آنجهت خدمت امیر نظام
الدین محمد علی را بهمراهی فرستادند که بشرف ملازمت
مشرف شده آنچه وظیفه خدمتکاری ست بتقدیم رسانند و
حضرت خواجه سلمه الله و ابقاه اعتماد تمام بر کرم وجود

[529] Postscript written on the right margin.

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آنحضرت کرده درین مهم اهتمام نمودند هرآینه که از آنجا که کمال شفقت عام است در موافقت و دوستی سلاطین عنایت دریغ نفرموده بنوعی التفات خواهند فرمود که خدمت امیر محمد علی بحضور تمام بدین جانب توجه نمایند حاکمند

و[530] بحضرت سیادتمآبی را نیت سفر هست و حضرت خواجه سلمه الله بآنحضرت اشارت فرموده اند در اجازت ایشان و همراهان عنایت و شفقت دریغ نفرمایند التماس و توقع که بشرف قبول مشرف گردانند در جزوی و کلی مهمات حضرت سیادتمآبی التفات خاطر شریف ارزانی داشته علی الخصوص در مهم سفر ایشان و همراهان عنایت دریغ نفرمایند حاکمند عمر دراز باد

احقر العبید خواجه علی

558(564)

The petition [*ʿarża-dāsht*] of the humble servant is that the letter of kindness with which we had been distinguished, out of [your] solicitude toward a devoted [servant], has been conveyed in the company of the *tovachï*;[531] it was rubbed on [our] head and eyes and kissed with the lips of courtesy [*adab*], and [its] supplication was conveyed, with a

[530] Postscript written on the right margin.

[531] The *tovachï* [*tovāchī*] is an envoy who conveys royal orders or commands. The term is also used to refer to an official whose responsibility included the organization of troops. In Timur's army the *tovachïs* served as troop inspectors, and they often conscripted troops. For discussion of the position of *tovachï*, see Beatrice Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1989), 173-174. See also ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma* (Tehran, 1946-), 1060 and Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neuperischen*, in *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission*, vol. 1, 260-262.

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hundred thousand [supplicatory] prayers, to the attention of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God bless him and preserve him). He ennobled it with the honor of acceptance, and ordered assistance through a bendiction. That which was [stipulated by] the royal directive regarding the homes of the servitors has been implemented in accordance with the directive; with efforts regarding the aforementioned matter recognized as the cause of [our] good fortune and felicity, effort was made to the extent of [our] ability. Aside from the household [*kūch*] of his honor, Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Shaykhzāda Muḥammad,[532] others [also] were given permission [to relocate], and limitless effort was made on behalf of their household[s]; since it was not divine fate during recent days, their relatives have not [yet] come to this side.[533] They have apologized for this, [saying], "The people of the aforementioned *amīr* have announced, 'We have abandoned the plan.' Since they [may] have abandoned the whole affair, how can we issue permission [to relocate]?" For this reason there has been a delay.

Saᶜd Allāh Āqā[534] will bring some of these accounts to [your] attention. [Your] devoted friends are engaged, day and night, in praying for the steady increase in [your] good fortune. It is hoped and requested that, from time to time, out of solicitude for a servant and care for a devoted [friend], [you] may honor and distinguish [us] regarding appropriate matters; it will be the cause of an increase in [your] felicity and affection. He is the judge!

May [your] life be long, for heaven bestows gifts,
And of all the gifts that it bestows, [long] life is the best.

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

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[532] Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Shaykhim is mentioned by Khwāja ᶜAlī again in letter no. 584(590).

[533] This is one of several letters of Khwāja ᶜAlī that concern the migration of individuals and families to and from Mawarannahr. For others, see letter nos. 562(568), 581(587), 558(564), and 578(584a,b).

[534] This may be the same Saᶜd Allāh who authored letter nos. 465(471) and 466(472). In letter no. 465 he signs his name Saᶜd al-Dīn, and in letter 466(472) he signs it Saᶜd Allāh; based on the handwriting and the content of the letters, they are written by the same author. As noted previously, Saᶜd Allāh may be Saᶜad al-Dīn Kāshgharī.

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558(564)

عرضه داشت بنده کمینه آنکه عنایت نامه که برسم مخلص نوازی بمصحوب تواجی سرافراز گردانیده بودند رسانید و برسر و چشم مالیده و بلب ادب مقبل گردانیده و نیازمندی را بصد هزار نیاز بعز عرض حضرت خواجه سلمه الله وابقا رسانیده شد و بشرف قبول مشرف ساخته بدعای خیر مدد فرمودند و آنچه در باب خانهای ملازمان اشارت عالی شده بود بر حسب الاشاره عمل نموده اهتمام را در مهم مذکور سبب دولت و سعادت خود دانسته بقدر قوت سعی نموده آمد و غیر از کوچ خدمت امیر شجاع الدین شیخ زاده محمد دیگرانرا اجازت فرمودند و سعی بی اندازه بجهت کوچ ایشان کرده شده بود چون تقدیر آلهی درین ایام نه بوده متعلقان ایشان درین طرف نبوده عذر این فرمودند که اهل امیر مشارالیه اعلام نمودند که امر انداخته ام چون امر انداخته باشند چگونه اجازت فرماییم از آنجهت تاءخیر واقع شد و بعضی حکایات را سعدالله آقا بعز عرض خواهند رسانید و محبان بدعای دولت روزافزون شب و روز مشغول اند امید و التماس آنکه گاهی برسم بنده نوازی و مخلص پروری بمهمات لایقه مفتخر و سرافراز گردانند سبب مزید سعادت و محبت باشد حاکمند

عمرش دراز باد که چرخ عطیه بخشد
و از هر عطیه که دهد عمر خوشتراست

احقر العبید علی

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559(563)

After the offering of sincere devotion, it is submitted to the honorable servitors of his eminence Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn ᶜAlī Shīr, (May his exalted shadow be extended),[535] that he may accept our greetings from this side and know [that we are] longing [to see him]. Thereafter, it is honored with announcement and declaration that the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), has looked with great kindness upon the bearer of this letter of supplication, Khwāja Sulṭān Beg; since the year when he [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] had gone to Herat,[536] the aforementioned [bearer] has been a servitor at that threshold [of ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār]. He is also a good friend of this *faqīr*. It is requested and expected that in the affairs, all and sundry, that he refers to the servitor, [you] not withhold the gaze of kindness and mercy, [but] bestow the attention of [your] noble mind upon the completion of [his] affairs. He is the judge! Long Life!

The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī

559(563)

هو

بعداز عرض اخلاص معروض بجناب شریف ملازمان حضرت امیر شجاع الدین علی شیر [مد ظله العالی][537] آنکه ازین جانب تحیت قبول فرموده مشتاق دانند بعد بشرف اعلام و انها میرود که بدارنده رقعه نیاز خواجه سلطان بیگ حضرت خواجه را سلمه الله و ابقاه نظر عنایت بسیار ازان سال که بهری رفته بودند مشارالیه ملازم آن آستان است واین فقیر را نیز دوستی بسیار است التماس و توقع که در کلی و جزوی مهمات که رجوع

[535] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[536] Khwāja Aḥrār was in Herat between 1428-1432.

[537] Written on the right margin.

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بملازمان نمایند نظر عنایت و شفقت دریغ نفرموده در اتمام مهمات التفات خاطر شریف به ارزانی فرمایند حاکمند عمرباد

احقر العبید خواجه علی

560(566)

After the expression of faithful servitude, it is submitted to the noble servitors of his excellency Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn ᶜAlī Shīr, (May his virtues increase),[538] that the bearer of this letter of supplication, Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAlī, is among the close friends and associates [*muḥibbān va kasān*] of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him); he has set out for that side [to Herat] for the sake of trade [*be rasm-i sawdā*], and will be ennobled with the honor of coming before [you]. It is requested and expected that [you] will not withhold [your] kindness and compassion. Whatever care and generosity may be shown with respect to him will be referred to this side. He has business with his excellency Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Mughūl. If, out of compassion, you would deign to bestow even a moment's attention from a corner of [your] noble mind upon the aforementioned business, it may be the cause for felicity in the two worlds and for an extension of life and good fortune and grace. He is the judge! Long life!

He is very indebted and indigent and whatever he has is a debt.[539]

[No signature] In the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī

560(566)

بعد از لوازم عبودیت صادقانه معروض بجناب شریف ملازمان حضرت امیر شجاع الدین علی شیر [زید فضایله][540] آنکه دارنده

[538] This *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

[539] This sentence is written on the lower right margin.

[540] Written on the right margin.

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رقعه نیاز خواجه محمد علی از محبان و کسان حضرت خواجه
اند سلمه الله و ابقاه و برسم سودا بدانجانب توجه نموده بشرف
ملازمت مشرف خواهند شد التماس و توقع که عنایت و شفقت
دریغ نفرمایند و هرچگونه رعایت و مروت به نسبت ایشان واقع
شود عاید بدینجانب خواهد بود و بحضرت امیر نظام الدین
مغول مهمی دارند اگر از راه ترحم گوشه خاطر شریف در مهم
مذکور لحظه بارزانی فرمایند سبب سعادت دارین و مزید عمر و
دولت و منت باشد حاکمند عمر باد

و بسیار قرض دار و مفلوك اند و هرچه دارند قرض است[541]

561(567)

[It is submitted] to the attention of the servitors of his excellency, the refuge of rulership [*Ḥażrat-i ḥukūmat-i panāhī*],[542] (May his exalted shadow be extended),[543] that, through the magnanimity of [your] solicitude for a [devoted] friend, [you] had sent one hundred *tangas*, intended for Mawlānā Sāmī, [along] with the servitors of his excellency the repository of *sayyid*-ship [*ḥażrat-i faqāhat-i panāhī va siyādat-ma'ābī*], Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Avvāl, (May his shadow be extended); his honor, Mawlānā Sāmī was [then] in Tashkent, in the service of his excellency Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Hājjī. This humble friend sent [the money] with a reliable man worthy of trust; [when] he is in the *vilāyat* of Tashkent, he will go to his honor, Mawlānā Sāmī. He [Mawlānā Sāmī] has been advised that, after the arrival of that sum, he should inform [us on] this side, [so that] it may be known to the servitors. Long life!

The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī

[541] Written on the lower right margin.

[542] Khwāja ᶜAlī is addressing ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī .

[543] This *duᶜā* is written on the upper right margin.

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561(567)

بعز عرض ملازمان حضرت [حکومت پناهی مد ظله العالی آنکه صد تنگه بکرم مخلص نوازی نامزد مولانا سامی بهمراهی ملازمان حضرت فقاهت پناهی و سیادتمآبی امیر کمال الدین عبدالاول مد ظله کرده فرستاده بودند و خدمت مولانا سامی در ملازمت حضرت امیر نظام الدین احمد حاجی در ولایت تاشکند بودند این محب کمینه بمعتمدی که اعتماد را شاید همراه ساخته فرستادم بولایت تاشکند می بوده بخدمت مولانا سامی خواهد رسید و اعلام نموده شده است که بعد از رسیدن آن مبلغ بدین جانب اعلام خواهند نمود معلوم ملازمان باشد عمر باد

احقر العبید خواجه علی

562(568)

After the fulfillment of the obligations of sincere benedictions and supplicatory servitude, the petition [*ʿarża-dāsht*] to the servitors of his excellency, the refuge of *amīr*-ship, (May God extend his good fortune and his exaltedness),[544] is that the mother of his eminence, the great *amīrzāda*, Amīr Pīr-Muḥammad Atïlmish had come here [to Samarqand] and displayed much agitation and complaint about [her] plight, because [her] close relatives and children are in Samarqand; and she is awaiting [the return of her] son, Pīr Muḥammad. If the servitors of his Majesty would be so kind, a [re-]union of [these] relatives may be achieved. The request from the servitors of that [royal] threshold is that if they would be so kind as to ensure that permission is given for the aforementioned *amīrzāda* to come to this side [to Samarqand], it is certain that there is much merit in the

[544] The *duʿā* is written on the upper left margin.

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[re-]union of kin; it will be the cause of an increase in [your spiritual] ranks. May good fortune be [your] companion in both worlds. Peace and respect!

The most humble of servants, Khwāja Alī

562(568)

بعد از ادای لوازم دعوات مخلصانه و عبودات نیازمندانه عرضه
داشت بملازمان حضرت[545] [امارت مآبی ادام الله دولته و رفعته]
آنکه خدمت امیرزاده اعظم امیر پیر محمد اتلمش را والده او
اینجا آمده بود و بسیار اضطراب و اظهار اضطرار نمود که
خویشاوندان و فرزندان در سمرقنداند و منتظر فرزند پیر محمد
می باشند اگر عنایت ملازمان آنحضرت باشد صله رحم حاصل
می شود التماس از ملازمان آن استان آنکه اگر عنایت فرموده
اجازت شود که امیرزاده مذکور بدین جانب آیند مقرر است که
در صله رحم ثواب بسیار است سبب مزید درجات خواهد شد
دولت دارین رفیق باد والسلام والکرام

احقر العبید خواجه علی

563(569)

He!

After the obligations of servitude, it is conveyed, with supplication, to the attention of his excellency, the refuge of rulership [*hukūmāt panāhī*], (May his exalted shadow be extended), that the condition [of myself] here, through divine assistance and kindness, and through

[545] Written on the right margin.

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the good fortune of the resolve of the servitors of the exalted threshold, is reason for [performing] the observances of thanksgiving, and requires a re-doubling of praise; praise and gratitude to God! And the condition of His Holiness [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May His blessings be made be all-embracing), together with [his] servitors, is adorned by and conjoined with the path [*ṭarīqa*] [that] is the cause of felicity in the two worlds, and that, purely in accordance with the wishes of [his] devoted friends, he keeps under his protection, through His grace and kindness. The hope is that at the times when [God's] bounty descends for all, [you] will not allow us to be forgotten, [and] will help us with prayers for [our] welfare; it may be a cause for felicity in the two worlds. He is the judge! May [your] exalted shadow be perpetual and continuous!

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

[As for] that which the holy Khwāja indicated through his excellency, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, (May his life be extended), to his honor the holy Mawlānā Ḥuramī, may [his life] … [546] be lengthened, regarding all the affairs in totality, the noble mind [of the holy Khwāja] is agreeable [to] ennoble [it] with the honor of acceptance—especially [regarding] the release of Amīr Yār-Muḥammad.[547] May it be known to [your] exalted mind. He is the judge![548]

563(569)

هو

بعداز لوازم عبودیت نیازمندانه بعز عرض حضرت [حکومت پناهی مد ظله العالی] [549] میرساند که احوال اینجانب بعون و

[546] One word is unclear.

[547] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī mentions Mawlānā Ḥuramī in letter no. 524(528), in which he reports Ḥuramī's arrival in Herat from Mashhad. See Jāmī's letter in Urunbaev, *Pism'a-avtografy*, fol. 88. Jāmī also appeals on behalf of "Amīrzāda Yār Muḥammad," and writes that Amīr Bihbūd also intends to petition on his behalf. *Pis'ma-avtografy*, letter no. 251(256), 99-100; fol. 67.

[548] This passage is written on the margin.

[549] Written on the right margin.

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عنایت آلهی و به یمن همت ملازمان عتبه علیه سبب مراسم شکر و مقتضی تضاعف حمد است لله الحمد والمنه واحوال آنحضرت عمت برکاته مع ملازمان آراسته و قرین بر طریقه که سبب سعادت دارین و بمحض خاطر خواه محبان در پناه خود دارد بمنه و کرمه امید آنکه در اوقاتی که نزول فیض عام باشد بفراموشی جایز نفرموده بدعای خیر مدد فرمایند سبب سعادت دارین باشد حاکمند ظل عالی مدام و مستدام باد

آنچه[550] حضرت خواجه بحضرت سیادتمآبی زید عمره بخدمت حضرت مولانا حرمی زید ...[551] اشارت فرموده اند درمهمات کلی خاطر شریف بران است بشرف قبول مشرف گردانیده شود علی الخصوص در خلاصی امیر یارمحمد معلوم رای عالی باد حاکمند

احقر العبید علی

564(570)

It is being brought to the attention of the servitors who command respect ... [552] that Ḥajjī ᶜAbd Allāh, who is from among the well-wishers [*duᶜāgūyān*] of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), is in the protected city of Herat, may it be preserved from adversities. The request and expectation is that the gaze of mercy not be denied with respect to him. It will be the cause for the increase of life and fortune. He is the judge!

[550] Postscript is written on the right margin.

[551] One word unclear.

[552] Two words are unclear.

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The good name of the servitors has become famous in the world. It was heard that Ḥajjī ᶜAbd Allāh has also been very engaged in prayers for the daily increase of [your] fortune.

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

564(570)

بعز عرض ملازمان واجب الاحترام ... [553] میرساند که حاجی عبدالله از دعاگویان حضرت خواجه سلمه الله وابقاه در بلده محفوظه هرات حمیت عن آلافات هست التماس و توقع آنکه نظر شفقت و مرحمت به نسبت اودریغ نفرمایند سبب مزید عمر و دولت باشد حاکمند و نیك نامی ملازمان در عالم شهرت یافته و شنوده شد که حاجی عبدالله نیز بسیاربسیار بدعای دولت روزافزون مشغول بوده

احقر العبید علی

565(571)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the minds of all the servitors of [that] threshold of high station [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May its exalted shadow not diminish),[554] have been extremely busy; they have shown fine efforts and observed the requirements of the courtesy of saying prayers and wishing [you] good fortune, and, to the extent of [their] capacity and possibility, they will [continue to] observe [them}. Perhaps the details of this will be brought to the attention of his Majesty's servitors, (May their blessings be made all-embracing); and in accordance with the blessed *āyat*, "It is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you,"[555] in all cases a good result is expected. The minds of all the devoted friends

[553] Two words are unclear.

[554] This *duᶜā* is written on the margin of the letter.

[555] Qur'ān, 2:216.

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[*muḥibbān*] are given over to that which causes the security and tranquility and welfare of all Muslims; may [they] be successful in the best and quickest way, and may the realm of the court of glory and power [*sāḥat-i bārgāh-i ᶜizzat va iqtidār*] be preserved and protected from the effects of the age. Verily, He is all powerful over what He wishes and worthy of response. Peace and respect!

The prayers and supplications are being sent to the attention of his eminence the refuge of *amīr*-ship, Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Shaykhim, (May his exalted shadow be extended); may they be conjoined with the honor of acceptance.[556]

My honorable master, Khwāja Abū Naṣr, (May his blessings and grandeur be perpetuated), was present [when this letter was written]; he sends his benediction to [your] presence. He said that the favors and kindnesses of his Majesty, (May his blessings be made all-embracing), were quite appropriate, and he is extremely grateful. May the causes of felicity in the two worlds increase day by day, and may assistance and favors be conjoined. Peace![557]

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avvāl
The humble servant, Qāsim

565(571)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خاطر جمیع ملازمان آستان رفیع المکان [لا زال ظله عالیا][558] بسیار مشغول است و مساعی جمیله نموده شرایط آداب دعاگویی و دولت خواهی مرعی فرمودند و بقدر الواسع والامکان مرعی خواهد بود شاید که تفاصیل آن بعرض ملازمان آنحضرت عمت برکاتهم رسیده شود بموجب آیه کریمه و عسی آن تکرهوا شیئا و هو خیرلکم در همه صورتها حسن عاقبت متوقع است خاطر همه محبان مصروف است در

[556] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.
[557] This passage is written on the top margin of the letter.
[558] Written on the right margin.

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آنچه سبب امن و امان و خیریت کافه مسلمانان است بر وجه احسن عن قریب میسر گردد و ساحت بارگاه عزت و اقتدار از آثار حوادث روزگار مصون و محفوظ باشد انه علی مایشاء قدیر و بالاجابة جدیر والسلام والاکرام

دعا[559] و نیاز بعرض ملازمان جناب امارت مآبی امیر نظام الدین شیخم مد ظله المعلی رسانیده میشود بشرف قبول مقرون باد

حضرت[560] مخدومی خواجه ابونصر دام برکاته و معالیه حاضر بودند دعا بمحال عرض میرسانند فرمودند که الطاف و عنایات آنحضرت عمت برکاتهم بسیار در محل بود و بغایت ممنون اند اسباب سعادت دارین روز افزون باد و مدد الطاف مقرون والسلام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

566(572)

Praise!

After the statement of supplication, it is to be submitted that the letter of favor [*ʿināyat-nāma*] that [you] had bestowed [upon us] has been delivered by the bearer of this letter of supplication; since it reported [your] health and well-being, it occasioned praises and thanksgiving. We are hopeful that the realms of [your] benevolence and favors may be preserved from the misfortunes of the age.

[559] Written on the right margin.

[560] Passage written on the top margin.

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The occurrence of the plague [*vabā'*] is reported in all cities and districts since the beginning of [the month of] Jumādā al-ākhir.[561] Some of the companions [*aṣḥāb*] have said that nearly ten of [our] dependants [*muta'alliqān*] were afflicted with the disease of the plague [*zaḥmat-i vabā'*].[562] For each one we ground up a quantity of one *mithqāl* and a half-*dang*[563] of [dried] snake-venom [*mār dārū*], mixed it in juice or water, and gave it to him [to drink]; they sweated profusely and recovered. For some the illness of the pestilence [*ṭā'ūn*][564] returned, and for some it flared up; [but] in any case, they recovered. They said that the snake-venom had no effect on any sick person who consumed less than a *mithqāl* [of it] or who consumed it more than[565] two or three days after [the onset of] the illness. Some others among the companions said that the snake-venom, despite the observance of [these] conditions, did not turn out to be effective with respect to some [of the afflicted], and they, in accordance with God's will, passed away. Peace!

The most humble of servants, Qāsim
The one needy of Him, 'Abd al-Avval

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[561] Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī reports that a plague took place in Tashkent in 840/1436. *Rashaḥāt,* vol. 2, 417. For a discussion of plague epidemics in the Middle East prior to the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century, see Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 13-35. The Black Death originated in the Asiatic steppe among the wild rodents of the region. On the origins and transmission of the Black Death, see Dols, *The Black Death,* 35-67.

[562] The major Arab chronicles, including Ibn al-Athīr and al-Maqrīzī, use the term *wabā'* to describe the epidemic outbreaks that occurred in the cities of Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz and Yemen. Dols, *The Black Death*, 32-34. Dols notes on p. 35 that, "The common descriptive term used for most of the pestilences before the Black Death was *wabā'*, which may mean any epidemic disease such as typhus, smallpox, cholera, etc.."

[563] In Samarqand in this period, the equivalent of one *mithqāl* and a half-*dang* is 4.83 grams. One *dang* is the equivalent of 1/6 of a *mithqāl*, and 1 *mithqāl* is equal to 4.46 grams. See E. A. Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii srednevekovoi Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1970), 95.

[564] According to Dols, the term *ṭā'ūn* "was commonly used by many of the same Arab chroniclers to describe the Black Death and its recurrences from the mid-fourteenth century." Dols, *The Black Death,* 35. Isfizārī uses the term to refer to the plague in Herat, *Rawżat al-jannāt*, pt. 2, 262. Snake venom was probably used as a purge. On the treatments of plague in the Middle East, see Dols, 105-109.

[565] The remainder of the letter was originally located on folio 43a on the margin of the letter. However, in the compilation of the album it was apparently cut into three narrow strips and glued onto folio 45a between two other letters.

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Considerable effort and care were shown, but they did not find more than three hundred *mithqāls* of Chinese rhubarb [*rīvand chīnī*].[566]

566(572)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه عنایت نامه که ارزانی فرموده
بودند دارنده رقعه نیاز رسانید چون مخبر بود از صحت و عافیت
موجب حمد و شکر شد امیدواریم که ساحات مکارم و الطاف از
مکاره روزگار محفوظ باشد واقعه وباء از غره جمادی الآخر
بالکلیه از شهر و نواحی مرفوع است بعضی از اصحاب چنین
گفتند که قریب بده نفر از متعلقان مبتلا بزحمت وبائی شدند
هریك را مقدار یك مثقال و نیمدانگ مارداروِ سوده ساخته
بشربت یا آب درآمیخته دادیم عرق بسیار کردند و صحت یافتند
بعضی را زحمت طاعون برگشت و بعضی را منفجر شد و
بهرحال صحت یافتند و چنین گفتند که هر بیمار که از مثقال
کمتر خورده بود و بعد از[567] دو سه روز از بیماری خورده بود اثر

---

[566] This addition is also located on folio 45a. Bukharan merchants had a monopoly on the Chinese rhubarb trade from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. They played a central role in transporting it from China to Iran and Moscovy, from where it was distributed to Western Europe. *Rīvand-i chīnī*, referred to as *ravend cini* by Audrey Burton (following the Dutch traveler Nieuhoff), was used for medicinal purposes. According to travellers Du Halde and Nieuhoff, Chinese rhubarb was effective "as a purge or as a cure for a loose stomach, and … it was used for treating jaundice and a variety of skin complaints. In Siberia it was considered the panacea for all evils and was said to stimulate the appetite, to strengthen the bodily functions, to cure indigestion, and through its leaves, to control scurvy." See Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History 1550-1702* (Curzon, 1997), 384; 383-385.

[567] The remainder of the letter was originally located on folio 43a on the margin. However, in the compilation of the album it was apparently cut into three narrow

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مارداروبنسبت او ظاهر نشد و بعضی دیگر از اصحاب چنین
گفتند که مارداروبا رعایت شرایط بنسبت بعضی مؤثر نه افتاد و
بموجب اراده و مشیت رفتند والسلام

سعی[568] و اهتمام بسیار نموده شد زیاده از سیصد مثقال ریوند
چینی نیافتند

بنده کمینه قاسم الفقیر الیه عبدالاول

567(573)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that for some time, the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication, Mawlānā Faẓl Allāh, (May his virtues be perpetuated), has been ennobled and dignified with the honor of being distinguished by an affiliation with the servitors of the threshold of exalted glory. The holy Khwāja, (May God most high grant him peace and preserve him),[569] looks upon the aforementioned Mawlānā with much kindness and favor. For nearly a year, an illness has afflicted him, [but] on this side [Mawarannahr] there is no reliable oculist [*kaḥḥāl*] to be found whose treatment might bring [him] peace of mind.[570] Out of necessity, he has decided that travel is obligatory, and he has set out for that region [Khurāsān]. The request of all the servitors and the servants here is that his honor, the aforementioned [Mawlānā], may be looked upon and cared for with mercy and compassion, and that through the kindness of the servitors, [your] noble mind will render the favor of

strips and glued onto folio 45a between two other letters.

[568] This note is also found on folio 45a.

[569] This *duʿā* is written on the right margin.

[570] Letter no. 348(354) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī also discusses the eye disease of Mawlānā Faẓlullāh and describes the appearance of cataracts and his medical treatment in Herat by the oculist, Khwāja ʿAlā' al-Dīn. The present letter no. 567(573) was apparently directed to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and this letter resulted in Faẓlullāh's medical treatment. For Jāmī's letter, see Urunbaev, *Pis'ma avtografy*, 107, fol. 75.

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identifying people of that skill and not allowing any [further] delay or inattention regarding the aforementioned [Mawlānā's] treatment, and will undertake the utmost care and effort concerning the aforementioned [Mawlānā]. The perfect compassion and favors of the masters [*makhādīm*], (May their shadow be extended), do not require reemphasis. May the assistance of [divine] favors be increased day by day. Peace!

The most humble of servants, Qāsim
The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

567(573)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز مولانا فضل الله دام فضائله زمان مدید است که بشرف اختصاص و انتساب بملازمان آستان عالیشان مشرف و مکرم است و حضرت خواجه [سلمه (الله)[571] تعالی و ابقاه][572] بنسبت مشارالیه نظر عنایت و التفات بسیار دارند قریب به یکسال شده که عارضه مشوش ایشان شده ودرین جانب کحال معتمد که معالجه او سبب اطمینان خاطر شود یافت نیست بضرورت سفر را فرض عین دانسته متوجه آن دیار شدند التماس جمیع ملازمان و خادمان اینجایی آنست که خدمت مشارالیه بنظر شفقت و مرحمت منظور و ملتفت باشد و ملازمان عنایت نموده چنان خاطر شریف معروف فرمایند که اهل آن صنعت معلوم فرموده درباب معالجه مشارالیه تاء خیر و اهمال جایز ندارند و کمال سعی و اهتمام بنسبت مشارالیه مرعی فرمایند کمال مرحمت والطاف مخادیم

[571] الله is omitted.

[572] Written on the right margin.

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مد ظلهم مغنی از عرض تاء کید است مدد الطاف روزافزون باد
والسلام

بنده کمینه قاسم الفقیر الیه عبدالاول

568(574)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the honorable, bearer of this letter of supplication, Mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Ghafūr, (May his grandeur be perpetuated), is adorned with all sorts of virtues and titles [*alqāb*]. For a long time, he has maintained the path of sincere devotion toward the *faqīrs* and servitors here. During the past year, he spent nearly six months among the [Sufi] companions [*aṣḥāb*]. No one was offended by his manner or mode [of conduct]. Now, in accordance with [God's] will and pleasure, he has set out for that region [Khurāsān]. Based on the universality and comprehensiveness of [your] kindness, and in accordance with the rule, "Respect and protection for the stranger," we are hopeful that he may be ennobled with the honor of the favor and attention of the servitors, (May their shadow be extended). May the causes for eternal happiness be increased day by day!

The most humble of the sincere, ᶜAbd al-Avval
The most humble of servants, Qāsim

568(574)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز مولانا عبدالغفور دام عزه بانواع فضایل و [ا]لقاب[573] آراسته اند دیرگاهست که بفقراء و ملازمان اینجایی طریقه اخلاص و محبت و ملازمت دارند درسال گذشته قریب شش ماه درمیان اصحاب بوده هیچکس را از طور و طریقه ایشان رمیدگی نشد

[573] Written as لقاب.

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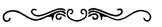
حالا بموجب اراده و مشیت متوجه

آن دیار شدند بنابر عموم و شمول الطاف و بموجب قاعده این
للغریب حرمة و ذما ما امیدواریم که شرف عنایت والتفات
ملازمان مد ظلهم مشرف باشد اسباب سعادات سرمدی
روزافزون باد

مخلص کمینه عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم



569(575)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that for a long time the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication has maintained the path of affection and familiarity with the servitors and companions here. The holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God most high grant him peace and preserve him),[574] shows him much favor and attention. In recent days, he has been ennobled with the virtuous intention and longing—and the acquisition of that good fortune comes only through a [divine] gift—and has set off toward the revered house, the honored Kaᶜba, (May God most high increase it in grandeur and respect).[575] The request from all the servitors is that he may be looked upon with the gaze of favor and kindness, and that they not withhold their noble mind [with regard to] any matter that he should bring before the servitors, (May their blessings be prolonged). We trust that [our] prayers will be answered. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval
The most humble of servants, Qāsim[576]

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[574] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[575] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[576] The signatures are written on the top of letter no. 571, fol. 43a.

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569(575)

الحمد

بعداز عرض نیاز معروض آنکه زمان مدید است که خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز را بملازمان و اصحاب اینجایی طریقه محبت و آشنایی هست و حضرت خواجه [سلمه تعالی و ابقاه][577] بنسبت ایشان بسیار عنایت و الطاف میفرمایند درین ایام بحسن نیت و نیاز که حصول آن دولت بمحض موهبت است مشرف شده عزیمت خانه محترم و کعبه معظم [زادها الله تعالی تعظیما و تکریما][578] نموده متوجه شدند التماس جمیع ملازمان آنکه بنظر عنایت و الطاف منظور فرمایند و هر امر که بعرض ملازمان دام برکاتهم رسانند التفات شریفه دریغ ندارند یقین که دعا مبذول خواهد بود مدد الطاف روزافزون باد والسلام

الفقیر الیه عبد الاول بنده کمینه قاسم

570(576a, b)[579]

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that all of the devoted friends here are engaged in sincere devotion and well-wishing; may material and spiritual felicity be achieved in the most complete manner! In accordance with [your] request and command, effort was made, and they sent his eminence, the Zubdat al-Umarāᶜ,[580] (May his good fortune continue). The hope is that from now on, no conduct

[577] Written on the right margin.

[578] Written on the right margin.

[579] The letter is divided into two sections, written side by side on fol. 43a.

[580] Only the epithet is written in the original.

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may occur other than the conduct of obedience and submission. Peace and respect!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval
The most humble of servants, Qāsim

570(576a, b)[581]

بعداز عرض نیاز معروض آنکه همه محبان اینجایی بوجه
اخلاص و دولتخواهی مشتغل اند اسباب سعادات صوری و
معنوی بر وجه اتم میسر باشد بر موجب التماس و امر اهتمام
نموده شد و جناب زیدة الامراء دام دولته را فرستادن امید
چنانست که من بعد غیر صورت متابعت و انقیاد هیچ صورتی
واقع نشود والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

571(577)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, the petition [*ᶜarżа-dāshт*] of this *faqīr* is that the best of gifts and presents that [you] had sent found the path of arrival in the finest fashion, and after their arrival it also met with acceptance in the loveliest way. He [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] disclosed in many assemblies [*majālis*] the traces of the attention of [your] noble mind and [your] many kindnesses; this noble letter is also evidence of this point. All the devoted friends [*muḥibbān*] are hopeful that through the good fortune and blessings [afforded by] that kind attention, the causes of felicity in the two worlds may be achieved in the best [possible] manner. Amen! Amen! Peace and respect!

The needy one ᶜAbd al-Avval
The humble servant, Qāsim

[581] The letter is divided into two sections, written side by side on fol. 43a.

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571(577)

الحمد

بعداز عرض نیاز عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه بهترین هدایا و تحفها
که ارسال فرموده بودند در احسن صورت سمت ورود یافت و
بعد از وصول نیز بر وجه اجمل تلقی بقبول نمودند و آثار التفات
خاطر شریف و الطاف بسیار در مجالس کثیره بنسبت آنجناب دام
برکاته ظاهر فرمودند و مکتوب شریف نیز برین معنی دلیلست
همه محبان امیدوارند که از یمن و برکات آن التفات اسباب
سعادات دارین بروجه احسن میسر باشد آمین آمین والسلام
والاکرام

الفقیر عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

572(578)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the *faqīrs* here are engaged in the duties of well-wishing for your good fortune, and are requesting that the aims, in both worlds, of his eminence, (May his exalted shadow be extended and his blessing be made all-embracing),[582] may be achieved in the best [possible] manner.

O Lord, may the prayer[s] of the heartsick [ones] be accepted!

Since the servitors of his honor, the refuge of felicity, (May his shadow be extended),[583] will bring the other matters to your attention, the petition has been limited to the original aim, which was praying [on your behalf].

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval
The humble servant, Qāsim

[582] The *duᶜā* is written on the top margin.

[583] The name of this person is not provided.

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572(578)

بعداز عرض نیاز معروض آنکه فقراء اینجایی بوظایف دولتخواهی اشتغال نموده میطلبند که مقاصد دارین آنجناب [مد ظله العالی و عمت برکاته][584] بروجه احسن میسر باشد

یا رب دعاء خسته دلال مستجاب باد

چون ملازمان جناب سعادتمآب مد ظله سایر حالات بعرض خواهند رسانید عرضه داشت بنمود و بر مقصود اصلی که دعاست اختصار واقع شد ظلال برکات ابد الدهر مبسوط باد والسلام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

573(579)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication has come from afar with the hope of obtaining his goal; the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace and preserve him),[585] has requested kindness and assistance in this matter from his eminence. His honor, Khwāja Kalān[586] will bring this situation to [your] noble mind; he [the bearer] has a petition for the servitors of his eminence. Consideration of [the saying], "He who seeks refuge in the shadow of the Beneficent will prosper," is

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[584] Written on the top margin.

[585] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[586] This may be Khwāja Kalān, the son of Mawlānā Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī, the *khalīfa* of ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār and *pīr* of the Herat Naqshbandīya. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī was one of Kāshgharī's initiates. For a discussion of Khwāja Kalān, see *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 408-410; *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 1, 194, 205, 229-231.

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cause for the utmost hopefulness [for your granting this request]. Peace and respect!

The needy one ᶜAbd al-Avval
The most humble of servants, Qāsim

573(579)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز از راه ودور بامید حصول مقصود آمده اند حضرت خواجه [سلمه الله و ابقاه][587] ازان جناب درین باب التماس عنایت و امداد نموده اند خدمت خواجه کلان آن صورة بشرف عرض خواهند رسانید ایشانرا التجا بملازمان آنجناب است ملاحظه من التجاء الی ظل الکریم فقد کان مفلحا سبب امیدواری تمام است والسلام والاکرام

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

574(580)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that, since it is known from the Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīths* of the Prophet [Muḥammad], (Upon him be blessings and peace),[588] that all the gates of conquest and felicity are opened by the realms of benevolence and goodness and the strengthening of religion and respect for Muslims, the *faqīrs* here are hopeful that, in accordance with the promise, abundant assistance and divine mercy will become so widespread that the name and form of trouble and discord [*tashvīsh va tafriqa*]

[587] Written on the right margin.

[588] The *duᶜā* is written on the upper left margin.

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may be completely removed from the lands of the Muslims, so that the good fortune of the increase of this matter with regard to the pillars of the state [*arkān-i dawlat*], (May their blessings be made be all-embracing), may increase from day to day. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval
The humble servant, Qāsim

574(580)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه چون از آیات قرآنی و احادیث نبوی [علیه الصلوة والسلام][589] معلوم میگردد که همه ابواب فتح و سعادت بر ساحات احسان و نیکویی و اعزاز دین و احترام مسلمین مفتوح است فقراء ایجایی امیدوارند که بمقتضآء وعد فیضان نصر[ت][590] و رحمت الهی بر وجهی منبسط گردد که اسم و رسم تشویش و تفرقه از بلاد مسلمین بالکلیه مرتفع شود که توفیق ازدیاد این معنی بنسبت ارکان دولت عمت برکاتهم روزبروز افزون باشد والسلام و الاکرام

الفیقر الیه عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

575(581)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the minds of the devoted friends and well-wishers are ever engaged [in praying] that the means of felicity in the two worlds might be achieved, in the best possible manner, by the servitors of his Majesty, (May God most high perpetuate his good fortune and his kindness],[591] so that all the Muslim subjects and poor are able to engage in their worldly and

[589] Written on the upper left margin.

[590] Written as نصر.

[591] The *duᶜā* is written on the top margin.

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spiritual affairs in the refuge of the kindness and benevolence of his Majesty. It is hoped that this may be achieved, in the best of ways, through the pure generosity [of God].

His eminence, Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth,[592] (May his life be prolonged), is continually writing about the perfect benevolence and the particular kindnesses that have been extended by the servants [*khuddām*] of his Majesty toward him and all the relatives of [his brother], my blessed master, Amīr ᶜAbd al-Avval, (May his blessings be prolonged), and is expressing his praises and thanks again and again.The *faqīrs* here are also thankful for this [same] reason, (May God most high reward you with good). I trust that the path of kindness and goodness will be a cause for an increase in felicity in the two worlds.

The bearer of this letter, Khwāja ᶜAlā' al-Dīn, is one of the old and select servitors [*mulāzimān-i khāṣṣa-yi qadīm*] [of Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] on this side. He has sent him [to Herat] in connection with the completion of certain affairs. The request is that in whatever matter he may refer to the servitors, he be ennobled with the honor of kindness and favorable attention. May [your] good fortune in this world and the next increase by the day. Peace!

The most humble of servants, Qāsim

575(581)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه همیشه خاطر محبان و
دولتخواهان مصروف است که ملازمان آنحضرت را [ابد الله
تعالی دولته و عاطفته][593] اسباب سعادات دارین بروجه احسن

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[592] As discussed, Abū'l-Ghayth is the brother of ᶜAbd al-Avval. Three of Khwāja ᶜAlī's letters concern the relatives of ᶜAbd al-Avval, nos. 582(588), 591(598), and 592(599). Seven of ᶜAbd al-Avval's own letters concern matters related to his family, specifically to his brother, Abū'l-Ghayth. See letter nos. 375(381), 376(382), 381(387), 589(595), and 593(600). The present letter expresses the gratitude of Mawlānā Qāsim, Aḥrār's close companion, whom Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī describes as "the shadow of Khwāja Aḥrār," and also expresses the gratitude of Khwāja Aḥrār himself for the favor and assistance provided by the court. Although it is not clear from the letter, Mawlānā Qāsim is likely to have been writing to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, to whom most of ᶜAbd al-Avval's requests were directed.

[593] Written on the top margin.

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میسر باشد تا جمیع رعایا و فقراء مسلیمن در پناه عاطفت و
عنایت آنحضرت بمصالح صوری و معنوی توانند مشغول بود
امید چنانست که بمحض موهبت باحسن وجوه میسر باد جناب
امیر ابوالغیث دام عمره کمال عاطفت و تفاصیل عنایت که از
خدام آنحضرت بنسبت ایشان و جمیع خویشان حضرت
مخدومی امیر عبدالاول دام برکاته واقع است علی الدوام
می نویسند و بسیاربسیار اظهار حمد و شکر می نمایند و فقراء
اینجایی نیز ازین سبب شاکر و ممنون اند جزاکم الله تعالی عنا
خیرا یقین که طریقه احسان و نیکویی سبب ازدیاد سعادات
دوجهانی خواهد بود دارنده رقعه نیاز خواجه علاءالدین
ازملازمان خاصه قدیمی این جانب است اورا نسبت سرانجام
بعضی مهمات فرستاده اند التماس آنکه بهر امر که بملازمان
رجوع نمایند بشرف عنایت و التفات مشرف گردانند دولت دنیا و
عقبی روزافزون باد والسلام

بنده کمینه قاسم

576(582)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that all of the prayer-sayers [*duᶜā-gūyān*] here are hopeful that God Almighty, through [His] pure kindness and as required by the primacy of [the divine quality of] compassion, may act in such a way that no affliction or unpleasantness may occur. His eminence my brother,[594] the pride

[594] Although unnamed, the brother is Abū'l-Ghayth, the subject of several of his letters, as noted above. In the Timurid period the term *naqīb* is most commonly

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of the lineage of *naqībs* [*niqābat-i intisābī*], (May his shadow be extended), and this *faqīr* are extremely thankful and gratified because of the perfect graciousness and kindnesses of the servitors, (May their blessings be [made] all-embracing [and] May God reward you with good on our behalf).

Although my noble brother will convey various prayers and supplicatory [benedictions] to the attention of the servitors, this *faqīr* too, based on the saying, "The pen is one of two tongues," wished not to be deprived of the honor of [expressing] such prayers.[595] Since the goal [in writing] was [to offer this] prayer, and nothing else, may beginning [the letter] with the primary goal serve as the means of felicity in this world and the next world in the most complete manner, and may the assistance of [divine] graciousness increase daily.

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

My honorable master, Mawlānā Qāsim, may his blessings be prolonged, offers a prayer. May it be given the honor of acceptance.[596]

576(582)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه جمیع دعاگویان اینجایی
امیدوارند که حضرت حق سبحانه بمحض عنایت و بموجب
سبقت رحمتی همچنان کند که هیچ محنتی و مکروهی نباشد
جناب اخوی نقابت انتسابی مد ظله و این فقیر بسبب کمال
الطاف و عنایات ملازمان عمت برکاتهم بسیار شاکر و ممنونیم
جزاکم الله عنا خیرا هرچند جناب اخوی سایر انواع دعا و نیاز
بعرض ملازمان خواهند ر[سان]ید بنابر وقوع القلم احد

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associated with the management of a shrine or shrine endowment. It is also used to denote *sayyid* leadership of a city. See Devin DeWeese, "The Descendants of Sayyid Ata and the Rank of Naqīb in Central Asia, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115.4(1995): 610-634, and Robert McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, 32, 41-44.

[595] A more common translation is, "The pen is another tongue."

[596] This postscript is written on the right margin.

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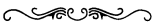
اللسانین این فقیر خواست که از شرف این نوع دعا نیز محروم نباشد چون مقصود جز دعا نبود شروع در مقصود اولی اسباب سعادات دنیا و عقبی بر وجه اتم میسر باد و مدد الطاف روزافزون

الفقیر الیه عبدالاول

حضرت[597] مخدومی مولانا قاسم دام برکاته دعا بموقف عرض میرساند بشرف قبول مقرون باد



577(583)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the honorable bearer of this letter of petition has been acquainted with this *faqīr* for a long time and has maintained the course of sincerity and well-wishing toward all the servitors of [that] sublime threshold. [The request] is that he be shown kindness and mercy and be regarded and looked upon with the eye of benevolence in [any] matter regarding which he appeals to the servitors. May the support of [your] kindnesses increase by the day. Peace!

The one needy of Him, ᶜAbd al-Avval

577(583)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز زمان مدید است که باین فقیر آشنایی دارند و بجمیع ملازمان عتبه سنیه طریقه اخلاص و دولتخواهی دارد آنکه عنایت و مرحمت نموده در مهمی که رجوع بملازمان نماید بعین عاطفت ملحوظ و منظور گردد مدد الطاف روزافزون باد والسلام

الفقیرالیه عبدالاول

[597] This postscript is written on the right margin.

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578(584a,b)[598]

He!

After the fulfillment of the obligation of faithful servitude, it is submitted to his noble eminence, refuge of rulership, (May his exalted shadow be extended),[599] that the bearers of this letter of supplication, Bābā ᶜAlī and Darvīsh Muḥammad, brought with them the noble letter that [you] had sent out of solicitude for [your] devoted [servant], together with reports of the health of [your] noble person; it occasioned exaltation and joy and contentedness on the part of this sincerely devoted friend. I trust that it is not strange or astonishing for those distinguished by the magnanimous Creator to remember old friends. There is nothing to be surprised at if musk smells good and the full moon shines brightly. It is hoped and requested that [you] may continue to honor and distinguish [this *faqīr*] through messages and letters [brought] by those who come [here from Herat]. He is the judge!

[As to] the rest, it is honored with announcement and declaration that ... effort was shown ... [600] regarding [your] royal directive [*ishārāt-i ᶜālī*] about the migration of his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Sayyid Badr ... , and that ... [601] the 500 *tangas* sent through the brother of Khwāja Muḥammad on behalf of ... [602] has been entrusted to the Khwājagān.[603] The brother of Khwāja Muḥammad is engaging in expressing abundant thanks with a hundred tongues, with praise and benediction for his eminence,

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[598] This letter consists of three sections, all of which are written in the same handwriting. The main section continues onto the right side of the page and above the signature over the dividing line; that section is assigned the number 584b. The addressee is likely ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[599] Written on the upper right corner.

[600] Two words are unclear.

[601] Two words are unclear. A certain "Sayyid Badr" (possibly Sayyid Badr al-Dīn?) is mentioned in letter no. 497(503).

[602] Text unclear.

[603] Although it is uncertain, the carrier of the five hundred *tangas* may be Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAlī, who is described by Khwāja ᶜAlī in letter no. 560(566) as "among the close ones and people of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh]." In that letter, Khwāja ᶜAlī reports that Khwāja Muḥammad had set out for Herat to conduct trade.

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(May his blessings be [made] all-embracing, [and] may his exalted shadow be extended).[604]

His eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, Amīr ᶜAbd al-Avval, was not honored with the permission, on behalf of his companions, to [travel to] his eminence; he is engaged, with great shame and from afar, in praying for the daily increase in good fortune for your eminence. If, out of general compassion, there should be a royal directive to the servitors [instructing them] to pay attention to the situation of relatives of his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, [Amīr ᶜAbd al-Avval], it may be the cause for an increase in good fortune and affection. He is the judge!

The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī

The confidants have informed the servitors of the heavenly threshold of his Royal Majesty, (May God perpetuate his rule and dominion), of the affection and words of the noble mind of the holy Khwāja; they will present [them] to [you]. For this reason there is no further presumptuousness.[605]

578(584a,b)[606]

هو

بعد از ادای لوازم عبودیت صادقانه معروض بجانب شریف
حضرت [حکومت پناهی مد ظله العالی][607] آنکه دارندگان رقعه
نیاز بابا علی و درویش محمد مکتوب شریف که برسم مخلص
نوازی عنایت فرموده بودند معه اخبار سلامتی وجود شریف
همراه آوردند سبب سرافرازی و سرور و حضور این محب

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[604] The sentences that follow continue on the right margin of letter no. 584a, fol. 44a.

[605] This postscript is written on letter no. 584b, fol. 44a.

[606] The addressee is likely ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. This letter consists of three sections, all of which are written in the same handwriting. The main section continues onto the right side of the page and above the signature over the dividing line; that section is assigned the number 584b.

[607] Written in the upper right corner.

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صادق الاخلاص گشتند یقین که از برگزیدگان حضرت خلاق
کریم یاد کردن مخلصان قدیم غریب و بدیع نیست لا غرو من
المسکی ان یفوح و من البدری ان یلوح امید و التماس که از
آیندگان پیوسته بمراسلات و مکاتبات مفتخر و سرافراز گردانند
حاکمند بقیه بشرف اعلام و انها میرود که آنچه اشارت عالی
شده در کوچ حضرت سیادتمآبی امیر شجاع الدین سید بدر...[608]
اهتمام نموده شد و آنچه بدست خواجه محمد بجهت... پانصد[609]
تنگه فرستاده بودند بخواجگان سپرده شد و برادر خواجه محمد
باظهار شکر بسیار بصد زبان بحمد و ثنای آنحضرت عمت
برکاته مشغول اند و اخباری که[610] درین جانب بوده معتمدان
معلوم گردند بنابران مصدع نشد ظل عالی مدام باد و حضرت
سیادت مآبی امیر عبدالاول بجهت همراهان بمشرف اجازت
آنحضرت مشرف نشده اند بغایت شرمنده وار از بیرون بدعای
دولت روزافزون حضرت شما مشغول اگر از راه شفقت عام
بملازمان اشارت عالی شود که از احوال متعلقان حضرت
سیادتمآبی برخبر باشند سبب مزید دولت و محبت است حاکمند

احقر العبید خواجه علی

و[611] محبت و گفته خاطر شریف حضرت خواجه را بملازمان

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608 Text is unclear.

609 Text is unclear.

610 The remainder of the letter is written on the right margin.

611 Postscript continues onto letter no. 584b, fol. 44a.

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آستان فلك آشیان حضرت سلطنت شعاری [خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه][612] معتمدان معلوم کردند بعز عرض خواهند رسانید آن جهت گستاخی کرده نشد

579(585)

He!

After the obligations of faithful servitude, it is submitted to the noble servitors of his eminence, the refuge of rulership and repository of *amīr*-ship, (May his exalted shadow be extended),[613] that the noble letter, which you were so kind as to send out of solicitude for [your] devoted [servant], has arrived;[614] I rubbed it on [my] head and eyes and kissed it with the lips of respect. The supplications [*niyāzmandī*] of his eminence, (May his justice be [made] all-embracing), were brought, with one hundred thousand [supplicatory] prayers, to the attention of the holy refuge of guidance [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār]. He ennobled it with the honor of acceptance.

Whatever the royal directive [*ishārat-i ᶜālī*] was, his eminence, the chief *qāżī* [*ḥażrat-i aqżā al-qużāt*], (May his virtues be increased), shall bring to your attention the particulars of the royal directive; the aforementioned [*qāżī*] displayed great effort in this matter, and showed the utmost eagerness in seeking the honor of coming before [you]. He wished for it, but what could he do? God did not want it. He waited for several days.[615] I trust that in whatever matter toward which his eminence, (May his blessings be [made] all-embracing), may direct his royal order for the increase of friendship,[616] the blessed footstep of his holiness [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] may be extolled and honored through those who come [here] and the correspondence

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[612] Written on the top margin of no. 584b.

[613] Written on the right margin.

[614] This letter is addressed to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī.

[615] The remainder of the letter is written on the right margin.

[616] Khwāja ᶜAlī is speaking of increasing friendship among the Timurid princes and *amīrs* for the sake of peace.

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and royal directives and permissions [*murāsalāt va ishārat va ijāzat-i ᶜālī*]. He is the judge!

The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī

579(585)

هو

بعد از لوازم عبودیت صادقانه معروض بجناب شریف ملازمان حضرت حکومت پناهی و امارت مآبی [مد ظله العالی][617] آنکه مکتوب شریف که برسم مخلص نوازی عنایت فرموده بودند رسید و برسر و چشم مالید و بلب ادب مقبل گردانید نیازمندی آنحضرت را عمت معدلته بصد هزار نیاز بعز عرض حضرت ارشاد پناهی رسانیده شد و بشرف قبول مشرف گردانیدند و آنچه اشارت عالی شده بود کیفیت آنرا حضرت اقضی القضاتی زید فضایله بعز عرض خواهند رسانید و مشارالیه بر اهتمام قوی در مهم فرموده شده بود واشتیاق تمام بشرف ملازمت آرزه می نمودند ایشان خواستند ولی چه کنند خدا نخواست چند روز توقف افتاد یقین[618] است که بهر مهمی که اشارت عالی آنحضرت عمت برکاته توجه نمایند در تزاید دوستی قدم مبارك خدمت ایشان را اثر تمام است و اهتمام در کفایت مهمات بصدق و اخلاص امید آنکه از آیندگان و مراسلات و اشارت و اجازت عالی مفتخر و سرفراز گردانند حاکمند

احقر العبید خواجه علی

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[617] Written on the right margin.

[618] The remainder of the letter is written on the right margin.

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580(586)

After the obligations of supplicatory servanthood, it is submitted to the noble servitors of his eminence, the refuge of rulership [ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī], (May his exalted shadow be extended),[619] that since the day when his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, (May His virtues be multiplied), [first] became engaged in constant service, every day and night, there has been talk of the honor of meeting the holy refuge of guidance.[620] Praise be to God, in recent days there is great hope that he will be honored with his noble company, and that his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship will present to the servitors [an account] of that which has happened. He is the judge![621]

And that which you had shown the mercy of your favor and your noble efforts in sending, out of solicitude for [your] devoted [servant], [and] at the request of those who say prayers [for you], regarding the affairs of his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, has been conveyed to the attention of the holy refuge of guidance; and they have also made known the blessed decree.[622] It was greatly praised by his blessed mind. Long life!

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

580(586)

هو

بعد از لوازم عبودیت نیازمندانه معروض بجناب شریف ملازمان حضرت [حکومت پناهی مد ظله العالی][623] آنکه ازآن روز که

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[619] The words *ḥukūmat panāhī* and the *duᶜā* that follows, are written on the top right margin of the letter. The name of the addressee, written as, علی شیرمد ظله الصالی, "ᶜAlī Shīr, May God prolong the shadow of his grandeur," is also written on the right margin.

[620] The "refuge of *sayyid*-ship" may be ᶜAbd al-Avval, since Khwāja ᶜAlī refers to him in letter no. 578(584a,b) as "his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship." The "Holy Refuge of Guidance" most likely refers to Khwāja Aḥrār, who is referred to as such in letter no. 579(585).

[621] The remainder of the text that follows is written in a narrow strip along the right margin of the letter.

[622] The phrase *nīshān-i mubārak* is translated here as "blessed decree," but it could also refer to the blessed seal of the Sulṭān.

[623] Written on the upper right margin.

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حضرت سیادتمآبی زید فضایله همه روز و شب پیوسته
بخدمتکاری مشغول بوده گفتگوی شرف ملاقات حضرت ارشاد
پناهی بود حمدا لله درین چند روز امیدواری تمام هست که
بصحبت شریف مشرف گردانند و حضرت سیادت پناهی آنچه
واقع بود بعزعرض ملازمان خواهند رسانید حاکمند[624] و آنچه
برسم مخلص نوازی بالتماس دعا گویان در مهمات حضرت
سیادتمآبی برسم شفقت التفات و اهتمام شریف به ارزانی فرموده
بودند بعز عرض حضرت ارشاد پناهی رسانیدند و از نشان مبارك
نیز معلوم کردند بغایت پسندیده بر خاطر مبارك آمد عمر باد
احقر العبید علی

581(587)

The petition [*ʿarża-dāsht*] of the humble servant to the honorable refuge of virtues, attainer of happiness [*khidmat-i ḥażrat-i faża'il-ma'āb*], Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn, is that … [625] the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace and preserve him), [submits that] Ustād Shams al-[Dīn] is a dear man of great age and his son … [626] had come to this side. Now, according to a false report [*sū'-i ishārat*], people have related that he got lost on the way. For the sake of his son … Ibrāhīm was sent [to you] so that that through the attention of the noble mind of the servitors of your Honor, (May their blessings be extended), they may send the son of Ustād Shams al-Dīn here. The

[624] The remainder of the letter is written in a narrow strip along the right margin.

[625] A number of words in the original are unclear due to damage. The end of each line in the original letter is difficult to read and, in some cases, is illegible.

[626] The name of the son is unclear.

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request and expectation [are] that you will be so kind as to turn [your] attention [to him] and not withhold your mercy and compassion,[627] and that there may be [issued] a royal directive to the servitors so that they send him on his way here and not withhold kindness with respect to Ibrāhīm and this *faqīr*. It will be the cause for felicity in both worlds and for the increase of life and grace. He is the judge!

[No signature] In the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī

581(587)

هو

عرضه داشت بنده کمینه بخدمت حضر[ت][628] فضا[یل مآب]
سعادت اکتساب مولانا کمال الدین آنکه ا... حضرت خواجه
سلمه الله و ابقاه استاد شمس الد[ین] مرد عزیز است بسیار کلان
سال و فرزند ایشان ...[629] درین جانب افتاده بود حالا سوء
اشارت نقل کرده ا[ند] برفتن ضائع بوده و بجهت فرزند ایشان
دارند...[630] ابراهیم را فرستاده شد که بالتفات خاطر شریف
ملا[زمان] حضرت شما عمت برکاته فرزند استاد شمس
الد[ین را] ا باینجا رساند التماس و توقع که عنایت فرمود[ه
التفات] نموده نظر شفقت و مرحمت دریغ ن[داشته][631] بملازمان
اشارت عالی شود که بدین جانب روانه سازند وعنایتی در باره

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[627] The remaining text is written on the right margin of the letter.

[628] A number of words are unclear due to damage. The end of each line is difficult to read and in some cases illegible; the translation is therefore approximate.

[629] The name is unclear.

[630] One word is unclear.

[631] The remainder of the letter is written on the right margin.

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ابراهیم و این فقیر دریغ نفرمایند سبب سعادت دارین و مزید عمر و منت باشد حاکمند

582(588)

After the [obligations] of faithful servitude, it is submitted to his noble eminence, his honor, Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn ᶜAlī Shīr, (May God most high extend the auspiciousness of his graces over all Muslims),[632] that the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace), has affection beyond the limits of expression for the bearer of this letter of supplication, his holiness the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, the noble [descendant of] ᶜAlī, Sayyid ᶜAbd al-Avval; and the deeds and words and actions of the holy *sayyid* have struck the blessed mind of the holy Khwāja as extremely praiseworthy. I am certain that he [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] regards him as more beloved and more dear than his previous children, and no one among the servitors has [approached] the level of the holy [*sayyid*] in closeness to the holy Khwāja, and no one by far. Because of the exigency of his grief about his sisters and dependents [there], he [Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] has, with the utmost sorrow, given the holy *sayyid* [permission to] leave.[633] What I have presented to you is found in the noble letter.

The request and expectation is that you will bestow every kind of solicitude and mercy with respect to the relatives of the holy refuge of *sayyid*-ship, out of [your] perfect magnanimity and rectitude, [and that] you will make it certain and established and known that they have brought [it] before the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace).

The holy Khwāja will be extremely gratified. He is the judge! You are wise, and the directive will be sufficient.

The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī

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[632] This *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

[633] This letter is related to a number of requests written by ᶜAbd al-Avval, Khwāja Aḥrār, Khwāja ᶜAlī, and Mawlānā Qāsim concerning ᶜAbd al-Avval, his brother Abū'l -Ghayth, the family *vaqf* in Khānshāh, and the condition of his family there. See, for example, letter nos. 375(381), 376(382a,b), 377(383a,b), 381(387), 383(389a,b), 576(582), and 589(595) of ᶜAbd al-Avval; nos. 582(588), 591(598) and 592(599) of Khwāja ᶜAlī; no. 575(581) of Mawlānā Qāsim; and 593(600) of Mawlānā Qāsim and Khwāja ᶜAlī.

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582(588)

هو

بعد از عبودیت صادقانه معروض بجانب شریف حضرت امیر شجاع الدین علیشیر [ادام الله تعالی میامن برکاته علی مفارق المسلمین][634] آنکه بدارنده رقعه نیاز بحضرت سیادتمآبی مرتضی اعظم سید عبدالاول حضرت خواجه را سلمه الله محبت از حد تقریر بیرون است و بسیار بسیار بر خاطر مبارك حضرت خواجه افعال و اقوال و اعمال حضرت سید پسندیده واقع شده و یقین این فقیر اینست که از فرزندان عزیز ایشانرا دوستر و عزیزتر میداشتند و هیچ کس از ملازمان در نزدیك بودن بحضرت خواجه مقدار حضرت ایشان نشده اند و تا غایت نه شده اند بنابرضرورت آلم همشیرگان و متعلقان ایشان حضرت سیدرا بالم تمام اجازت فرمودند و در مکتوب شریف آنچه این فقیر بعز عرض رسانیده ام هست التماس و توقع آنکه هرچگونه رعایت و شفقت به نسبت متعلقان حضرت سیادتمآبی از کمال کرم و صوبه ارزانی فرمایند یقین و مقرر و معلوم فرمایند که بحضرت خواجه سلمه الله پیش برده اند و حضرت خواجه بسیار بسیار خوشوقت خواهند شد حاکمند تو عاقلی و اشارت بسنده خواهد بود

احقر العبید خواجه علی

583(589)

After the obligations of faithful servitude, it is presented to the servants of the exalted threshold, (May their shadows [of protection] be extended), that the condition of this lowly one [*muḥaqqar*], through

[634] Written on the right margin.

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divine assistance and favor and through the blessing of the resolve of the servitors of his eminence, (May his blessings be extended), is cause for an increase of thanksgiving and requires a doubling of praise; praise and gratitude be to God! And the condition of the servitors, if God wills it, is in accordance with the wish of devoted friends [*muḥibbān*], through [God's] grace and beneficence. The hope is that [you] will not allow [us] to be forgotten by those who come to this side, but remember us through messages and letters [*murāsalāt va mukātabāt*]; it will be [the] cause for [your] exaltation. He is the judge! Long life!

[No signature] In the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī

583(589)

بعد از لوازم عبودیت صادقانه بعز عرض ملازمان عتبه علیه مد ظلهم میرساند که احوال این محقر بعون و عنایت آلهی و به یمن همت ملازمان آنحضرت عمت برکاته سبب تزاید شکر و مقتضی تضاعف حمد است لله الحمد و المنه واحوال ملازمان بر مراد محبان باشد بمنه و کرمه امید آنکه از انشاء [الله][635] آیندگان اینجانب بفراموشی جایز نفرموده بمراسلات و مکاتبات بیاد آرند سبب سرافرازی باشد حاکمند عمر باد

584(590)

After the obligations of faithful servitude, it is submitted to his noble eminence, the refuge of virtues, attainer of felicity, Amīr Muẓaffar al-Dīn [ᶜAlī Shīr],[636] (May God most high extend the auspiciousness of his blessings over all Muslims), that [we] have been distinguished

[635] "Allāh" is written on the upper margin.

[636] The following *duᶜā*, including the name "Alī Shīr," is written on the upper right margin.

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by the noble letter that you had been so kind [as to send] out of solicitude for a devoted [servant]; it was rubbed on [his, Khwāja Aḥrār's] head and eyes, and was kissed with the lips of respect. He conveyed the supplications of his eminence, (May his blessings be extended), together with a hundred thousand supplicatory prayers, to the attention of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), and he ennobled them with the honor of acceptance. And through [the letter's] contents, as far as [I] understand, what had been submitted to his Royal Majesty and [to] the *amīrs* on the subject of friendship among the *sulṭāns*—that without it, the realm [*mamālik*] will not be at peace, and that effort in negotiations [to achieve it] is the most important of all undertakings—was disclosed.[637] And they, with the utmost joy and eagerness, accepted this idea and resolved that they would send a trustworthy person together with his holiness the great [descendent of ᶜAlī], Niẓām al-Dīn Sayyid Muḥammad, and that whatever might be ordered should be put into effect.[638]

The hope and request are that when blessings are bestowed for all, [you] not allow this lowly one to be forgotten, and that [you] will include him in the group of [your] devoted [servants] and friends. It shall be the cause for happiness in the two worlds. He is the judge! May your exalted shadow be eternal![639]

The supplications of his honor, the elder and dearest brother, Amīr Shujāᶜ al-Dīn Shaykhim, are sent [herewith].[640] May they be given the honor of acceptance. [641]

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

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[637] Khwāja ᶜAlī is referring here to the Timurid ruler, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd (r. 1459-1494).

[638] This is most likely Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad ᶜAlī, who was sent by Khwāja Aḥrār as an emissary to the court in Herat to assist in peace negotiations. In letter no. 557(563) Khwāja ᶜAlī refers to him as "his honor, Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad ᶜAlī, and in letter no. 565(571) ᶜAbd al-Avval and Qāsim refer to him as "his eminence, the refuge of *amīr*-ship, Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Shaykhim." "Shaykhim" is a standard Central Asian abbreviation for "Shaykh Muḥammad."

[639] The last *duᶜā* is written on the bottom right margin of the letter.

[640] This may be Shujaᶜ al-Dīn Shaykhzāda Muḥammad, to whom Khwāja ᶜAlī refers in letter no. 558(564).

[641] The postscript is written on the right margin.

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584(590)

بعد از لوازم عبودیت صادقانه معروض بجانب شریف حضرت فضایلمآب سعادت اکتساب امیر مظفرالدین [علیشیر ادام الله تعالی میامن برکاته علی مفارق المسلمین][642] آنکه عنایت فرموده برسم مخلص نوازی بمکتوب شریف سرافراز گردانیده بودند و بر سر و چشم مالیده و بلب آداب مقبل گردانیده و نیازمندی آنحضرت را عمت برکاته بصد هزار نیاز بعز عرض حضرت خواجه سلمه الله و ابقاه رسانیده و بشرف قبول مشرف گردانیدند و بر مضمون بقدر فهم اطلاع افتاده آنچه در باب دوستی سلاطین که ممالك بی آن صورت قرار نمی یابد و سعی درین معامله اهم مهمات [است] بعرض سلطنت شعاری وامرا رسانیده شد و ایشان بذوق و رغبت تمام این صورت را قبول فرموده مقرر کردند که بهمراهی حضرت مرتضی اعظم نظام الدین سید محمد معتمدی را روانه سازند بهر چه اشارت شود بآن صورت عمل نموده شود امید و التماس آنکه در محلی که نزول فیض عام باشد این کمینه را بفراموش جایز نفرموده در زمره مخلصان و محبان منخرط گردانند سبب سعادت دارین باشد حاکمند ظل عالی مدام باد

و نیازمندی حضرت برادر اعز ارشد امیر شجاع الدین شیخم را رسانیده شد بشرف قبول مشرف گردانند[643]

احقر العبید علی

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[642] Written on upper right margin.

[643] The postscript is written on the right margin.

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585 (591)

After the presentation of sincere devotion, it is submitted to his noble eminence, the refuge of *amīr*-ship, (May his exalted shadow be extended), that the reports that were heard ... [644] were reliable; the bearers of this letter of supplication brought them, and they were very well received and much praised by the blessed mind of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him). What can he say of his devoted friends [*mukhliṣān*] that would be worthy [of them]? They hope, from the infinite kindnesses of the Creator, [May He be exalted], that He will perpetually honor them with the good fortune of joyfulness, and protect [them] from sadness of this sort, through His grace and magnanimity. Something has come to the minds of the *amīrs*; they will bring it to your attention. You are wise, and [your] directive [*ishārat*] will be praiseworthy. What is in the minds of the *amīrs* is that everyone whom they dispatch to this side, out of magnanimity and munificence, might [bear] noble letters from your excellency's side and [from] other *amīrs* to the *amīrs* of this side; since the path of peace and goodwill exists [between the two sides], the hope is that [you] will favor us, through those who come [from there], with messages and correspondence and directives [*murāsalāt va mukātabāt va ishārat*] regarding suitable matters. It may be a cause of distinction. He is the judge! Long life!

The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

The holy Khwāja has written a noble letter to your excellency concerning a recommendation for his holiness the great descendant of ᶜAlī, Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād, and has indicated that he is a guest [here]; he will convey the request and expectation and appeal of this *faqīr* to the servitors of his excellency, the refuge of *amīr*-ship, (May his exalted shadow be extended). He is the judge![645]

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[644] Several words are unclear. Although it might appear that the "refuge of *amir*-ship" is ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī, based on the postscripts, Khwāja ᶜAlī is evidently writing to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, whom he hopes will pass on his request to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. In letter no. 218(223) of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, he writes about the financial affairs of Sayyid Muḥammad Qannād. In addition, in the second postscript above, Khwāja ᶜAlī makes note that he is sending two gifts of *ḥalvā*, one for "the servitors of the refuge of *amīr*-ship," and another, for the servitors of the addressee. For the letter of Jāmī, see *Pis'ma avtografy*, fol. 61.

[645] The first and second postscripts are written on the right margin. In the first postscript Khwāja ᶜAlī asks the addressee to bring his request to "the refuge of

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[I have sent] a piece of *ḥalvā* for the servitors of the refuge of *amīr*-ship, and a piece of *ḥalvā* for the servitors of … .[646]

585 (591)

بعد از عرض اخلاص معروض بجانب شریف حضرت امارت پناهی مد ظله العالی آنکه اخباری که شنیده … صادق[647] الاخلاص بود دارندگان رقعه نیاز رسانیدند و بر خاطر مبارك حضرت خواجه سلمه الله و ابقاه بسیار بسیار نیك آمده پسندیده واقع شد و از مخلصان خود چه توانند گفتن که حد باشد امید از الطاف بی نهایت باری دارند که پیوسته بدولت شادی مشرف گردانیده از غمهایی که ازین نوع باشد نگاه دارد و بمنه و کرمه و امرارا چیزی بر خاطر آمده بعز عرض خواهند رسانید تو عاقلی و اشارت پسنده خواهد بود و در خاطر شریف امرا اینست که هرکس که بدین جانب از راه کرم وجود روانه سازند مکتوبات شریف از جانب حضرت شما وامرای دیگر بامرای این جانب باشد چون طریقه آشتی و دولتخواهی هست امید آنکه از آیندگان بمراسلات و مکاتبات و اشارت در مهمات لایقه عنایت فرمایند سبب سرافرازی باشد حاکمند عمر باد

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amīr-ship," whom Khwāja ᶜAlī apparently hopes will pass on his request to ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī. The addressee of the postscript may be Jāmī.

[646] Based on the note above, the *ḥalvā* was intended for ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī and Jāmī.

[647] Several unclear words.

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و[648] حضرت خواجه مکتوب شریف در باب سفارش حضرت مرتضی اعظم سید محمد قناد بحضرت شما نوشته اند و اشارت فرموده اند که مهمان اند التماس و توقع و نیازمندی این فقیر را بملازمان حضرت امارت مآبی مد ظله العالی رسانند حاکمند

و[649] یك قطی حلوا بجهة ملازمان امارت پناهی و یك قطی حلوا بملازمان

586(592)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that it is clear and evident to [your] illuminated and informed mind that the lights and traces of the sanctity of the holy pivot of the saints and of all spiritual pivots [*quṭb al-awlīyā va'l aqṭāb*], Shaykh Saᶜd al-Ḥaqq va'l-Ḥaqīqa va'd Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥammūyī, (May God most high sanctify his spirit and pour out his spiritual revelations over the two worlds), are clearer than the sun and need no elaboration or explanation;[650] and in all ages and times the *sulṭāns* and rulers have regarded honor and respect for this family to be among the greatest of matters, and have understood them [honor and respect] to be the means of obtaining the felicity of [this] world and the next. At this time, the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication, who is among the noble descendants of the shaykhs of the Ḥammūya [family], (May God most high sanctify their spirits), has honored the *faqīrs* here [in

[648] Postscript written on the right margin.

[649] Second postscript written on the right margin.

[650] The bearer of the letter is a descendant of Saᶜd al-Dīn Ḥammūyī (d. 649/1252), whose ancestral home was Baḥrābād in Khurāsān. Saᶜd al-Dīn was a disciple of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221), and was the Sufi master of ᶜAzīz-i Nasafī. Saᶜd al-Dīn's son, Sadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, is best known for his conversion to Islam of Ghāzān Khān. The shaykhs of the Ḥammūya family had especially close ties to the Ilkhānid court, and they remained prominent in Khurāsān during the Timurid period. For a discussion of Saᶜd al-Dīn and his son, see Jamal J. Elias, "The Sufi Lords of Bahrabad: Saᶜd al-Din and Sadr al-Din Hamuwayi," *Iranian Studies* 27, 1-4(1994): 53-75. See also H. Landolt, "Saᶜd al-Dīn al-Ḥammū'ī, EI[2].

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Samarqand] with his noble arrival. The holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God most high grant him peace and preserve him),[651] has requested that [you] show favors and kindnesses [to ensure that] his Royal Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], (May his dominion and authority be perpetuated), may honor [him] with the gaze of generosity and kindness, so that through such good fortune and blessings, his desires and needs might be achieved. Since attaining assistance from the great saints [*awlīyā*], (May God most high sanctify their secrets), is effected through solicitude for persons who may have a material or spiritual [*ṣūrī yā maᶜnavī*] connection with them, we request that [you] devote the whole of [your] noble mind to the wishes and needs of the honorable aforementioned [bearer of the letter] and instruct the servitors to consider care and effort in this matter to be a blessing and a requirement of the time, and to observe the utmost kindness and assistance. I trust that it will be a cause making [this] world and the next resplendent. Peace and respect!

The humble servant, Qāsim
The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

586(592)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه بر ضمیر منیر خبیر روشن و
هویداست که انوار و آثار ولایت حضرت قطب الاولیا و
الاقطاب شیخ سعدالحق و الحقیقة و الدین محمد الحموی قدس
الله تعالی روحه و افاض علی العالمین فتوحه اظهر من الشمس
است و مستغنی از شرح و بیان و در همه اعصار و ازمان سلاطین
و حکام تعظیم و احترام آن خاندان از اعظم مهمات میداشته اند
و وسیله حصول سعادات دنیا و آخرت می دانسته در این وقت
خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز که از اولاد اشراف مشایخ حمویه اند
قدس الله تعالی ارواحهم بمقدم شریف فقراء اینجایی را مشرف

[651] The *duᶜā* is written on the right margin.

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گردانیدند حضرت [خواجه سلمه الله تعالی و ابقاه][652] التماس نموده اند که الطاف و اعطاف نموده حضرت سلطنت شعاری خلد ملکه و سلطانه بنظر موهبت و عنایت مشرف سازند تا از میامن و برکات آن مرادات حاجات ایشان میسر شود چون یافت مدد از اکابر اولیا قدس الله تعالی اسرارهم برعایت کسانی که بایشان نسبت صوری یا معنوی داشته باشند مقرر شده التماس می نمایم که همگی خاطر شریف مصروف مرادات و حاجات خدمت مشارالیه دارند و بملازمان فرمایند که سعی و اهتمام در این امر غنیمت و موجب وقت دانسته کمال عنایت و امداد مرعی فرمایند یقین که سبب رونق دنیا و عقبی خواهد بود والسلام و الاکرام

بنده کمینه قاسم احقر العبید علی

587(593)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that his honor, Sayyid ᶜImād al-Dīn, because of offenses [committed] by his children, has been accused and imprisoned. Since, in accordance with the noble law [*sharᶜ-i sharif*], the aforementioned [*sayyid*] is not guilty in this affair, the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God most high grant him peace and preserve him), has requested his release and deliverance from the servitors of his Royal Majesty, (May his dominion and authority be perpetuated). The request is that if the servitors would also bestow kindness in the release of the aforementioned *sayyid* [, then it would be good]. He is the judge! It trust that [this] will be augmented with other favors.

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[652] Written on the upper right margin.

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Secondly, the request is that the honorable bearer of this letter of supplication, together with [his] son, has experienced much distraction and distress on account of the aforementioned [*sayyid*'s imprisonment]. For whatever he may refer to the servitors of that side, (May his blessings be perpetuated], the hope is that he [may] not be deprived of the honor of [your] kind attention. Peace!

The humble servant, Qāsim

587(593)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه خدمت سید عماد الدین بسبب جرایم اولاد معاتب و گرفتار شده بوده اند چون بموجب شرع شریف مشارالیه درین قضیه نی گناهست حضرت خواجه [سلمه الله تعالی و ابقاه][653] خلاصی و نجات اورا از ملازمان حضرت سلطنت شعاری خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه طلبیده اند التماس آنکه اگر ملازمان نیز در تخلیص سید مذکور عنایت ارزانی فرمایند حاکمند و یقین که با سایر الطاف منضم خواهد بود ثانیا التماس آنکه خدمت دارنده رقعه نیاز با فرزند بسبب مشارالیه بسیار تفرقه و تشویش دیده اند بهر مهم که رجوع بملازمان آنجناب دام برکاته نمایند امید که از شرف التفات محروم نمانند والسلام

بنده کمینه قاسم

588(594a,b)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that the bearer of this letter of supplication, the precious son Abū'l-Makārim, has come to this region [Mawarannahr] because of the uncertainties of

[653] Written on the upper margin.

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the age,[654] and has been sent to have the honor of kissing [your] threshold. The request is that you honor him with the kind attention of [your] alchemical mind, and not withhold kindness and compassion from him regarding all the matters that he may submit to the servitors … kindness and favors … [655]

The one needy of God, ᶜAbd al-Avval
The humble servant, Qāsim

588(594a,b)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه دارنده رقعه نیاز فرزند قر …
العین ابو مکارم بسبب عوارض روزگار باین دیار آمده بشرف
عتبه بوسی فرستاده شد التماس آنکه بالتفات خاطر کیمیا مآثر
مشرف سازند و در جمیع امور که بعرض ملازمان رساند عنایت
و مرحمت دریغ نفرمایند عنایت و الطاف… [656]

الفقیر الی الله عبدالاول بنده کمینه قاسم

589(595)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, it submitted that, in conformity with [our] affection and well-wishing, [we] have always inquired after the well being of the servitors of his Majesty, (May their good fortune and their blessings continue), and [we] continue to do so; we are extraordinarily heartened and gladdened by the firm course of beneficence and goodness, with regard to all Muslims, that [you]

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[654] Only the honorific title denoting nobility is provided.

[655] The translation of the first words of the next sentence, *ᶜināya va alṭāf,* has not been included since the remainder of the text is lost. The letter itself is cut into two parts, which are pasted sideways in a row in the upper left side on folio 45a.

[656] The remainder of the text is lost. The letter is cut into two parts, which are pasted sideways in a row on the upper left side of folio 45a.

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have adhered to and maintained. May God most high reward you with good in both worlds! The hope is that, through [your] pure generosity and kindness, the means of felicity,—material and spiritual, of this world and the next,—may increase day by day.

His honor, Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth and other relatives are constantly writing accounts of the perfect kindness and favor of the servitors, (May their shadow be extended), and express much praise and thanks; this *faqīr* and all the *faqīrs* here, are also thankful and grateful, and, as required by the promise, "God is merciful to those of his servants who are merciful,"[657] we are hopeful that the compassion and generosity of the Merciful [God] may encompass all the affairs of his Majesty, (May his blessings be perpetuated), in the most perfect and complete manner. Peace!

The most humble of servants, ᶜAbd al-Avval

589(595)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه بمقتضاء محبت و دولتخواهی همیشه مستخبر حسن احوال ملازمان آنحضرت دام دولتهم و برکاتهم بوده و می باشد از طریقه مستمره احسان و نیکویی که بنسبت کافه مسلمین لازم و مرعی فرموده اند بسیار بسیار خوشدل و شادانیم جزاکم الله تعالی فی الدارین خیرا امید چنانست که بمحض موهبت و عنایت اسباب سعادات صوری و معنوی دنیوی و اخروی روز افزون باشد خدمت امیر ابو الغیث و سایر خویشان کمال عنایت و الطاف ملازمان مد ظلهم [را]

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[657] This is a *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth* found abundantly with this exact text, especially in al-Bukhārī, where it is part of nos. 1204 (exact text, *Kibāt al-janā'iz*), 5223, 6163 (exact text, *Kitāb al-aymān wa'l-nudhur*), 6829 (exact text, *Kitab al-tawḥīd*); 6894 (exact text, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*), and also in Muslim, no. 1531. *Mawsūᶜat al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (CD-ROM, Cairo).

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على الدوام مشروح می نویسند و بسیار مظهر حمد و شکرند این فقیر و جمیع فقراء اینجایی نیز شاکر و ممنونیم و بموجب و عد انما یرحم الله من عباده الرحما امیدواریم که رحمت و موهبت رحمانی بر وجه اکمل و اتم شامل جمیع احوال آنحضرت دام برکاتهم باشد والسلام

اقل العباد عبدالاول

590(596)

Praise!

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted that among the group that is related to the holy Khwāja Naqshband, (May God most high sanctify his spirit), the son of Amīr Yūsuf ᶜAṭṭār,[658] whose noble name is also Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn,[659] is endowed with probity and rectitude, and has a full share of [his] spiritual connection; his perfect attributes and abundant [mystical] states are of such a level that it behooves all [his] kin[smen] and relations [*aqrabā' va khvīshān*] to make him the[ir] sole representative for accepting votive and supplicatory offerings [*nadhr va niyāz*]. However, despite the many kinds of property and wealth and gifts and grants [*māl va manāl va inᶜām*[660] *va soyūrghāl*] [which they have], they vie with him, and indeed do not give any opportunity for sharing. It is the conviction of the *faqīrs* here that votive offerings [*nadhr*] to his honor [Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn] are also a means of achieving [one's] goals and needs [*maqāṣid va ḥājāt*] and experience confirms this. The request from the servitors of his Majesty, (May their high shadow be extended and their blessings

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[658] It is also possible that ᶜAbd al-Avval is using *farzand-i Amīr Yūsuf ᶜAṭṭar* to mean "my 'son', Amīr Yūsuf, whose noble name is also Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf," since ᶜAbd al-Avval refers to him as Khwāja Yūsuf in the postscript.

[659] Amīr Yūsuf ᶜAṭṭār was the brother of Khwāja Muḥammad ᶜAṭṭār, who was the grandson of ᶜAlā' al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 802/1400), the successor to Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389). See *Rashaḥāt*, vol. 1, 163.

[660] *Inᶜām* may also refer to livestock or a grant of rent-free land.

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be perpetuated), is that whenever they send votive offerings [*nadhr*] and "transactional offerings" [*muᶜāmala*],[661] they should specify [them] for him, so that no one may cause obstruction by appropriating [them], and so that [the issue] may not reach the point of dispute and hostility. May the assistance of [divine] favors increase day by day. Peace!

The most humble of servants, ᶜAbd al-Avval

Khwāja Yūsuf has sent the sum of 450 *tangas*, as required by [your] order; those entitled [*mustaḥaqq*] and others have [that] sum at their disposal.[662]

590(596)

الحمد

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض آنکه در میان جمعی که منسوب اند
بحضرت خواجه نقشبند [قدس الله تعالی روحه][663] فرزند امیر
یوسف عطار که اسم شریف ایشان نیز خواجه بهاءالدین است

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[661] *Muᶜāmala* usually refers to trade or other commercial business dealings. In this letter, *muᶜāmala* apparently refers to a kind of offering collected by the dervishes and shared among them. This letter provides evidence that *muᶜamala* was used as a synonym of *niyāz*, with *nadhr* meaning offerings that would accompany a vow (therefore nothing is expected in return), and *niyāz* meaning supplication (presumably giving a sum in exchange for something else, such as making an appeal or intercession). I am grateful to Devin DeWeese for his comments on these terms. For the more common use of the term, see Jürgen Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya* , 108, 123. Paul cites a passage in Tabari's *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuqahāᶜ* that discusses the obligation of the landowner to pay *kharāj* even if he assigns the date-palms on his land to a *muᶜāmala* partnership, p. 108; he also cites Shams al-Dīn Sarakhsī's *Kibāb al-mabsūṭ*, in which he uses *muᶜāmala* to describe a partnership contract for fruit trees, p. 123.

[662] The postscript is written on the margin. *Mustaḥaqq* refers to those having the right to the alms. This is an interesting request that raises two related issues: first, one of competition among the Naqshbandī shaykhs for offerings in the form of gifts, property, land grants, and other forms of wealth; and second, the impetus on the part of one of Khwāja Aḥrār's most senior disciples to advise the Herat court to designate gifts for specific individuals.

[663] Written on the right margin.

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بصلاح و سداد متصف اند و از نسبت معنوی بهره تمام دارند و اوصاف کمال و وفور احوال ایشان بمرتبه ایست که بایستی که همه اقربا و خویشان بقبول نذر و نیاز ایشانرا متعین و منفرد داشتندی لیکن با وجود انواع مال و منال و انعام و سیورغال مزاحمت می نمایند بلك مجال شرکت نمیدهند و اعتقاد فقراء اینجایی آنست که نذر خدمت ایشان نیز سبب حصول مقاصد و حاجات است و تجربه تصدیق این معنی میکند التماس از ملازمان آن حضرت مد ظلهم و دام برکاتهم آنکه هر وقت نذر و معامله فرستند بدیشان تخصیص فرمایند تا هیچکس بطریق تغلب مزاحمت ننماید و بحد جدال و خصومت نرسد مدد الطاف روزافزون باد والسلام

اقل العباد عبدالاول

خواجه یوسف مبلغ چهارصد و پنجاه تنگه بموجب فرموده رسانیدند و مستحق و غیره تصرف نمودند

… (597)[664]

1. Since the kindness and favors of the servitors of his Majesty, may their good fortune and their blessings be perpetuated, …

2. … became. Give [your] attention to his condition, for he is a man who …

[664] In the manuscript four separate fragments are combined together under one number (597) on folio 45a. They are fragments from different letters that appear to have had no connection with one another, and are written in different handwriting and on different papers. Since none of the fragments conveys a coherent meaning we have not assigned them separate numbers.

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3. … may become … [of] this *faqīr*. Peace!

4. May the assistance of [divine] favors increase day by day. Peace!

...**(597)**

چون عنایت و الطاف ملازمان آنحضرت دام دولتهم و برکاتهم...

...گشت خاطری بحال او دارند که مردی...

...این فقیر شود والسلام

و مدد الطاف روزافزون باد والسلام

591(598)

After the presentation of supplication, it is submitted to the honorable servitors of his excellency … [665] that for a long time, the blessed minds of his excellency, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship Amīr … [666] ᶜAbd al-Avval, (May his shadow be extended), and the *faqīrs* here, have been intensely occupied on behalf of the condition of the brothers and relatives of his excellency [the *amīr*]. Praise and thanks be to God that, because of the utmost benevolence of his Royal Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā], the shadow of God [on earth], (May God perpetuate his dominion and authority), and [because of] the abundant kindnesses of the servitors of your excellency, (May their blessings be [made] all-embracing), the minds of all the *faqīrs* from this group are at peace; and the details of the favors and beneficence [*inᶜām va iḥsān*] that have occurred with respect to him have often been brought to the attention of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God bless him). His [ᶜAbd al-Avval's] relatives too, when from time to time they write letters, comment upon the petition [by noting] the effects of his Majesty's favors and kindness, and [their] earnest inquiry

[665] His name was apparently written on the margin but no longer remains.

[666] Part of the name, the *laqab*, is not legible.

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about the circumstances that have lately befallen him, and they express much praise and thanks; may God reward you with good on our behalf and on behalf of all Muslims!

The hope is that through the continuation of the lights of his Majesty's benevolence, they may become prosperous there, [as] formerly, in the best possible manner, by [God's] grace and magnanimity.[667] After this, it is brought to [your] noble mind that the holy Khwāja, (May God grant him peace and preserve him), had requested from his Royal Majesty that, out of [his] magnanimity and munificence, [his] kindness and mercy toward the brother and relatives of his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship [ᶜAbd al-Avval], might be of such a level and degree that no harm would come [to ᶜAbd al-Avval's relatives] from anyone; and his Majesty, (May his justice be made all-embracing), showed [them] the utmost attention, so that the brother and relatives of his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship [ᶜAbd al-Avval], became embarrassed by the endless favors of his Majesty's servitors.

It has been heard that trouble has come to them from certain of the lowest of mankind and appointees of the *dīvān* [*ārādhil-i nās va gumāshtagān-i divān*]; out of [their] extreme shame, they did not have the power to submit the matter to the servitors' attention, nor did they have the strength to report it to us. With so much honor, how would they speak about it? It was made known [only] through people who came [from there].

If, out of [your] solicitude for a devoted [friend], they may be ennobled with the honor of permission to appeal to [your] servitors, it would be the utmost kindness. Since the original goal of the request and of the assignment of gifts was for the condition of that group to be put in order gradually, the request is that [you] show favor and kindness in such a way that his eminence, the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Manṣūr and [his] other relatives, may be protected from the oppression of the officials [*ẓulm-i ᶜummāl*] and from the wickedness of other evil ones [*ashrār*].[668] I trust that aid to the Muslims will be a means for [attaining] eternal fortune. He is the judge!

[No signature] In the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī[669]

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[667] Several words are unclear at this point; the translation is therefore approximate, based on the content of the letter.

[668] *Ashrār* also means bandits, implying that they are robbing the people.

[669] The signature apparently became unglued and was lost.

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591(598)

بعد از عرض نیاز معروض بخدمت ملازمان حضرت [670] آنکه مدت مدید بود که خاطر مبارك حضرت سیادتمآبی امیر... [671] عبدالاول مد ظله و فقراء اینجایی از جهت احوال برادران و خویشان حضرت ایشان بسیار بسیار مشغول می بود لله الحمد و المنه که بسبب کمال عاطفت حضرت سلطنت شعاری ظل الهی خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و وفور عنایت ملازمان حضرت شما عمت برکاتهم خاطر همه فقراء از اینجماعة جمع است و تفاصیل انعام و احسان که بنسبت ایشان واقع است مرارا بعرض حضرت خواجه سلمهم الله رسانیده شد وخویشان ایشان نیز گه گاه که مکتوب می نویسند آثار الطاف و عنایت آنحضرت و تفقد احوال که مجددا بنسبت ایشان واقع میشود بشرح عرضه داشت میفرمایند و بسیار اظهار حمد و شکر می نمایند جزاکم الله عنا و عن سایر المسلمین خیرا امید چنان است که بدوام انوار عاطفت آنحضرت آنجا از قدیم بر وجه احسن مرفه الحال شوند بمنه و کرمه بعده بعرض شریف میرساند که حضرت خواجه سلمه الله و ابقاه از حضرت سلطنت شعاری التماس نموده بودند که از راه کرم و جود عنایت و شفقت بنسبت برادر و خویشان خدمت سیادتمآبی بنوعی که برتبت و مرتبتی باشد که از هیچ کس زحمت نرسد و آنحضرت عمت معدلته بر وجه کمال التفات فرموده اند و

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[670] The name was once written on the margin but no longer remains.

[671] Part of the name, the *laqab*, is not legible.

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برادران و خویشان حضرت سیادتمآبی از الطاف بی نهایت
ملازمان آنحضرت شرمنده بوده و شنوده شد که از بعضی از
اراذل[672] ناس و گماشتگان دیوان تشویش میرسیده و از غایت
خجالت قدرت آن نی که بعز عرض ملازمان رسانند و قوه آن هم
نی که بدینجانب اعلام نمایند با وجود این همه عزت چگونه بر
زبان رانند و از آیندگان معلوم کرده شد اگر از راه مخلص نوازی
بشرف اجازت مشرف شوند که بعز عرض ملازمان رسانند غایت
و نهایت کرم باشد چون مقصود اصلی از التماس و تعیین
انعامات آن بود که احوال آنجماعه بتدریج انتظام یابد التماس
آنست که الطاف نموده بر وجهی عنایت فرمایند که جناب
سیادتمآبی امیر جلال الدین منصور و سایر خویشان از ظلم عمال
و بدی سایر اشرار محفوظ باشند یقین که امداد مسلمین وسیله
دولت سرمدی خواهد بود حاکمند

592(599)

After the obligations of devoted servitude, it is brought to the attention of the servitors, worthy of respect, of his excellency the refuge of *amīr*-ship, (May God most high extend his auspicious blessings over all Muslims), that it should be clear to the illuminated mind of his excellency that the holy Khwāja [ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār], (May God grant him peace and preserve him), has looked upon his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship, Amīr Sayyid ʿAbd al-Avval, (May his virtues increase), with the gaze of [his] mercy and kindness, in the highest degree; and his holiness the great descendant of ʿAlī, his eminence Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad, (May his exalted

[672] Written as ارازل.

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shadow be prolonged), has made this matter known … and has [considered] his [ᶜAbd al-Avval's] concerns to be his own … [673]

[He has] requested [something] from his Royal Majesty [and] from his eminence, (May his blessings be extended); through inclination and affection, out of solicitude for a devoted friend, [let him] not deny the request, [but] make abundant effort in attending to his [ᶜAbd al-Avval's] affairs, and [ensure …] the fulfillment of [his] needs. And [he has requested] from this devoted friend of long-standing that I convey to the attention of the servitors of the exalted threshold the effort and attention of the noble mind of the holy Khwāja [ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār] in concluding the affairs of his eminence the refuge of *sayyid*-ship [ᶜAbd al-Avval]; for they will be extremely grateful, and what can one say against the gratitude of long-standing prayer-sayers [*duᶜā-gūyān*]?

The utmost confidence has been placed in the benevolence of the servitors; there is firm expectation and sincere hope that the request will not be denied. May [your] exalted shadow be extended forever over all Muslims. He is the judge! In whatever way you bestow favor, it will be considered as relating to me. Long life!

[No signature] In the handwriting of Khwāja ᶜAlī

The humble *faqīr*, ᶜAbd al-Avval, sends prayers and praise to the place of petitioning. The requisite well-wishing was and will be observed. It is requested from the holy Bestower of Favors, (May He be glorified and exalted), that the means of felicity in both worlds be increased day by day for his Majesty, (May his blessings be made all-embracing). Verily, he is worthy of response [of having his prayers answered]. Peace![674]

592(599)

بعد از لوازم عبودیت مخلصانه بعز عرض ملازمان واجب

الاحترام حضرت امارت مآبی ادام الله تعالی میامن برکاته علی

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[673] The letter is torn in several places, creating a number of lacunae in the text. Khwāja ᶜAlī addresses Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn in letter no. 581(587), although it is unclear whether they are the same person.

[674] The postscript is written on the right margin.

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مفارق المسلمین میرساند که بر ضمیر منیر حضرات روشن باشد که حضرت خواجه را سلمه الله و ابقاه بحضرت سیادتمآبی امیر سید عبدالاول زید فضایله نظر شفقت و عنایت در اعلی درجه واقع است و مرتضی اعظم حضرت امیر کمال الدین سلطان محمد... [675] مد ظله العالی این صورت را معلوم کرده... مهمات ایشان را مهمات خود... التماس از حضرت سلطنت شعاری از آنحضرت عمت برکاته کرده اند از راه مخلص نوازی بمیل و محبت ملتمس را مردود ناگردیده باهتمام مهمات [سعی] بلیغ نموده به برآمد حاجات... گردانند و این محب مخلص قدیم را... نمود که اهتمام و میل خاطر شریف حضرت خواجه را در اتمام مهمات حضرت سیادت پناهی بعز عرض ملازمان عتبه علیه رسانم که منت بسیار بسیار خواهند داشت و منت داری دعاگویان قدیم را چه توان گفت و اعتماد تمام بر کرم و جود ملازمان کرده شد رجا واثق و امید صادق که ملتمس مردود نگردانند ظل عالی بر مفارق مسلمین ابدالدهر مبسوط باد حاکمند بهر وجه عنایت فرمایند عاید بدینجانب خواهد بود عمر باد

فقیر [676] نیازمند عبدالاول دعا و ثنا بموقف عرض میرساند موجب کمال دولتخواهی مرعی بوده و خواهد بود از حضرت واهب

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[675] The letter is torn in several places, creating a number of lacunae in the text.

[676] The postscript is written on the right margin.

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المنن عز و علا مسئول است که آنحضرت را عمت برکاته اسباب
سعادات دارین روزافزون باد انه بالاجابه جدیر والسلام

593(600)

The lowly *faqīr*, ᶜAbd al-Avval, conveys [his] prayers and praises to [your] attention. We are embarrassed by the perfect kindnesses and favors that have been shown with respect to [his] relatives; may God most high reward you with good on our behalf and on behalf of other Muslims. The request is that the servitors would show kindness and favorable attention so that that which has been designated for the honorable refuge of *sayyid*-ship, Amīr Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn ᶜAlī and [for] Amīr Abū'l-Ghayth, from the endowments [*awqāf*] may be conveyed to them.[677] He is the judge!

The humble servant, Qāsim
The most humble of servants, ᶜAlī

593(600)

فقیر نیازمند عبدالاول دعا و ثنا بموقف عرض میرساند از کمال
اعطاف و الطاف که بنسبت خویشان واقع است بسیار بسیار
شرمنده ایم جزاکم الله تعلی عنا و عن سایر المسلمین خیرا
التماس آنکه اگر ملازمان عنایت و التفات فرمایند که آنچه از
اوقاف به نسبت جناب سیادتمآبی امیر سید ناصر الدین علی و

[677] See letter no. 375(381) for the circumstances surrounding the family *vaqf* (*vaqf-i awlād*) of ᶜAbd al-Avval and his family in Khānshāh. This letter may be related to letter no. 591(598) of Khwāja ᶜAlī, in which he reports that officials of the *dīvān* are causing Abū'l-Ghayth and his relatives trouble. Evidently this involved a disagreement with the tax collectors. It is unclear whether the land of Khānshāh was exempted from taxes, although the numerous requests of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and ᶜAlī Shīr Navā'ī for assistance and the many letters written to the Sulṭān and his servitors that express gratitude for their favor suggest that the family most likely enjoyed some tax relief as well as other privileges. Amīr Naṣir al-Dīn may be another brother of Abū'l-Ghayth.

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امیر ابوالغیث معین شده بود بایشان وصول یابد حاکمند

احقر العبید علی بنده کمینه قاسم

594(601)[678]

Accomplish the work of those in need when you have the opportunity, O wise one,
For out of need, the foundation of the palace of self-sufficiency [*qaṣr-i istighnā'*] was made strong.[679]

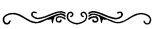
The most humble of servants, Khwāja ᶜAlī
The humble servant, Qāsim

594(601)[680]

برآور کار محتاجان چو فرصت داری ای دانا

که از محتاج محکم شد اساس قصر استغنا

احقر العبید خواجه علی بنده کمینه قاسم



[678] Only a torn fragment of two hemistitches of one line of poetry remain along with the signatures.

[679] *Istighnā'* refers to the state of the heart in which the love and contemplation of God absorb all else.

[680] Only a torn fragment of two hemistitches of one line of poetry remain along with the signatures.

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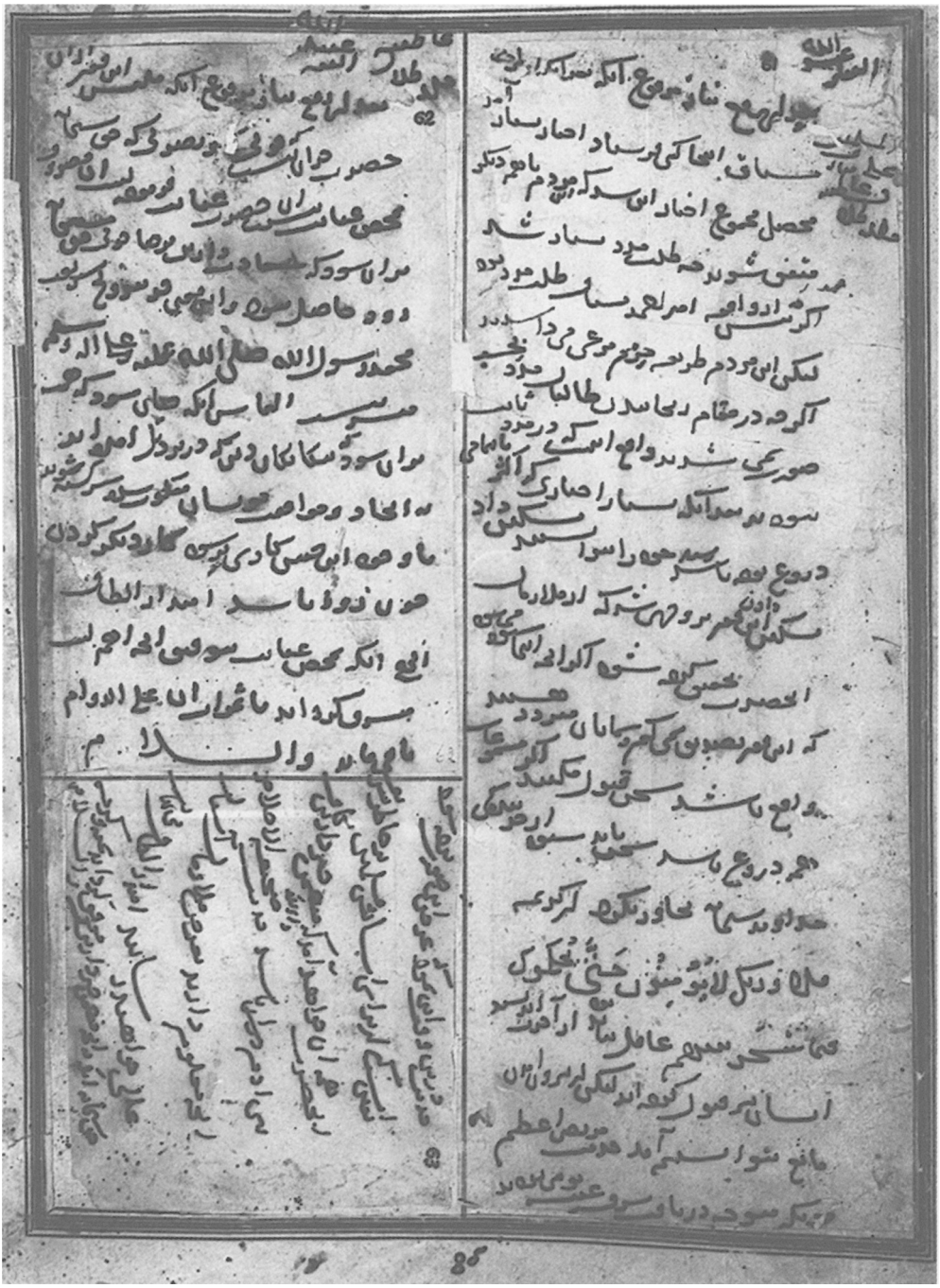

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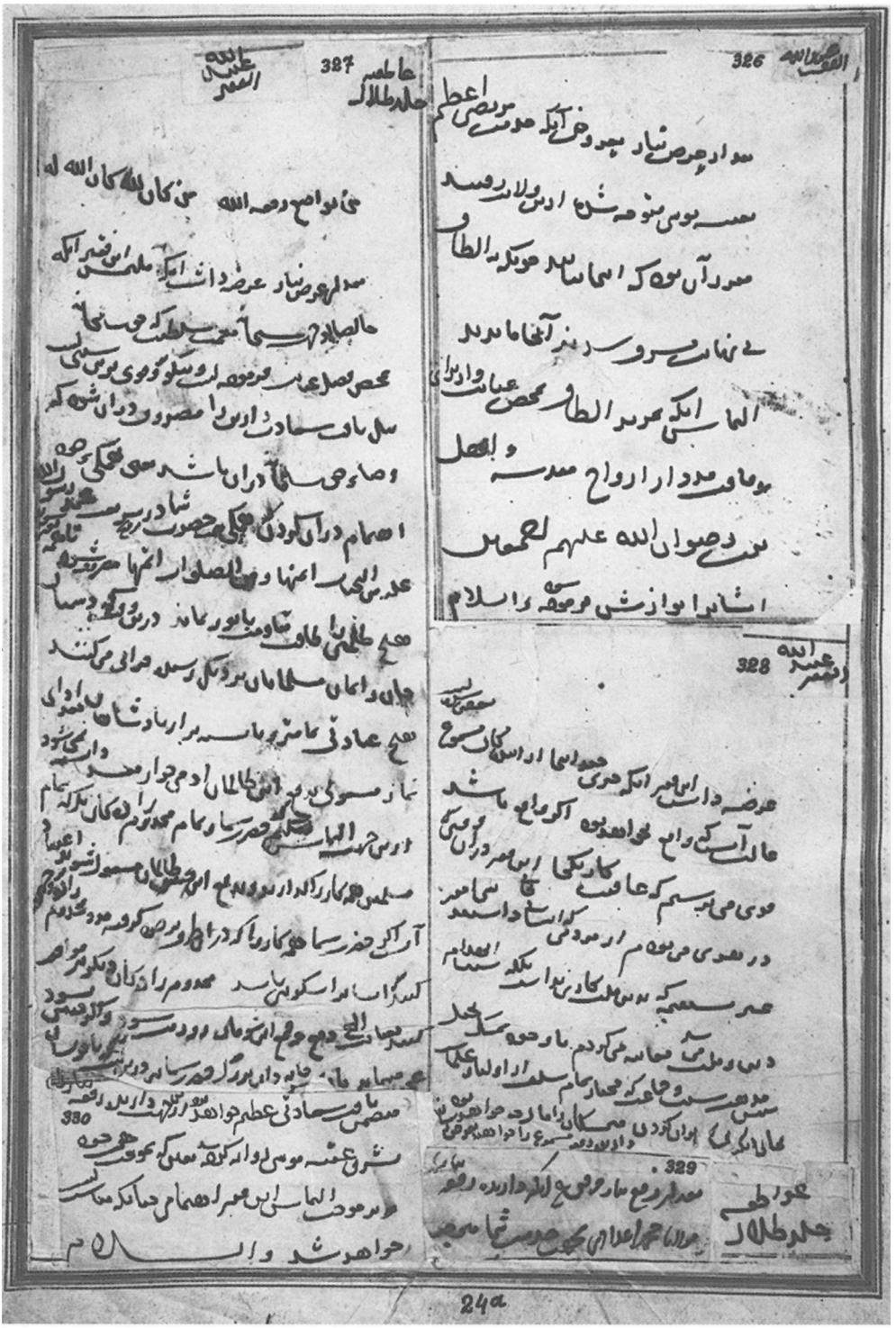

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و نعمه الله تعالی با نواع الخیرات

والمبرات برادر دینی جامع فضایل جمیله

قطب اصحاب اداد عوات و تحیات نیاز مندانه

قبول فرموده معروض رای منیر میگردد

دام عزه که از وجه که از جهت خرج راه

درویشان ارسال فرموده بود بدیشان

شش صد دینار واصل درویشان شده

وجهار صد دینار دیگر را درویش محمود شاه

دلربند سعی فرموده نوعی سازند که

ارسال فرمایند که واصل درویشان

شود بدست حامل رقعه درویش

حاجی محمد ترتیبی که بجهت ان تعیین

خادم الفقراء والمساکین

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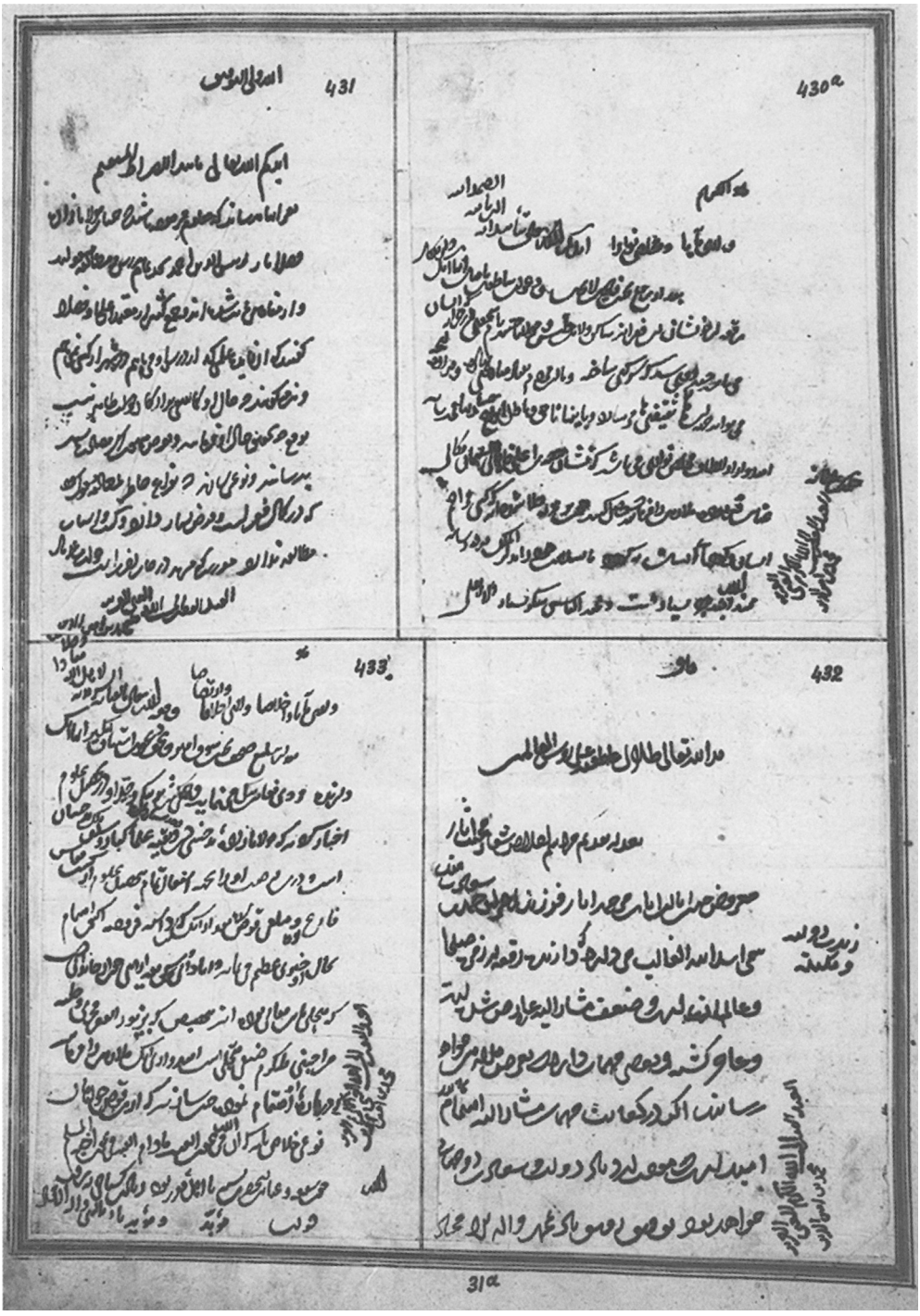

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الحمد

بعد از عرض سلام عرضه داشت این فقیر آنکه

بعضی از حسدیان و بخیلان که از سایه این دولت دور بودند

در اواخر سنه ثمانی و ثمانین بعد از وفات والد مرحوم

بوجه اجمال تا حدی تقرب جسته و القاب و مناصب

والطاف بسیار در مجالس کثیره خصوصاً در مجلس

ظاهر فرمودند و کلمات تحسین آمیز

عجبان امید دارند که از این پس نیز کما کان الصفات

اب به های دامن بوده باشد

آمین آمین والسلام علی الاکرام

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الحمد

بعد از عرض سلام عرضه داشت این

وظایف خلوص و اشتیاق مقرون بطلب کرم و عاطفت

و این اضطراب بجهت آنست که پس از

عرض دعا خسته و دلال ساخته

و بعضی اصحاب که دعا را

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الحمد

بعد از عرض سلام و مراسم که حق دعا و ثنا ساز

از اوراد دور و ماضی حسول مستصوب آید و اند

وجیب اوراد اصحاب ورع و اتقا

و اوراد نوافل حضرت جل و علا کان الله معه

مشروح عرض خواهند رسانید اینکه انشاء الله

بلسان ان جناب است ملاحظه من القا

الی الحق اکرم فقد کان و نحن

کام است والسلام والاکرام

580

بعد از عرض سلام مسنون مرضی که

معلوم مکرم حضرت جناب قرین سعادت و اقبال

اصحاب ان بارگاه و اعزاز و تبجیل و احترام کما حقه مشروح است

فقراء ایجا لیعه اند که بمقتضای وعده و بعضی

نفس و رجعت آنی بر وجهی که مرسوم کرام و رسم

نشر فرموده اند و سلام الکلمه مرتبع سوق کرده

از دیاد این نسبت ارکان دولت و عظمت کام

روز بروز افزون باشد والسلام علی الاکرام

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بعد از سلام مسنون مرضی رای جمع علو یان اعلاء

الله شانهم آنکه حضرت حق سبحانه و تعالی

سبقت رحمتی علی غضبی کرده

جمال لم یزلی بنقاب ستار و غطاء و ایران مستور

وضیاء ان ملایان عمی کام مستدعی جزاکم

الله خیراً حضرت جناب قرین سعادت و اقبال

و نیاز مرحوم ایشان اعتقاد بذیل بنا بر وقوع

انه للسانین امر خواست که از شرف ایشان

نیز محروم نباشد چون تصور چنین امری

شروع در بعضی اسباب اعتقاد دارد

بوجه اتم میتواند و مدد الطاف

583

بعد از عرض سلام مرضی که حضرت

زمان بدیعیت که ما می خواستها دارند و بحمد الله

طریقه اخلاص و دعا گوئی را

و قت خود در مهمی که رجوع کلان ایشان

مطرح نظر و منظور کرده

و السلام علی الاکرام

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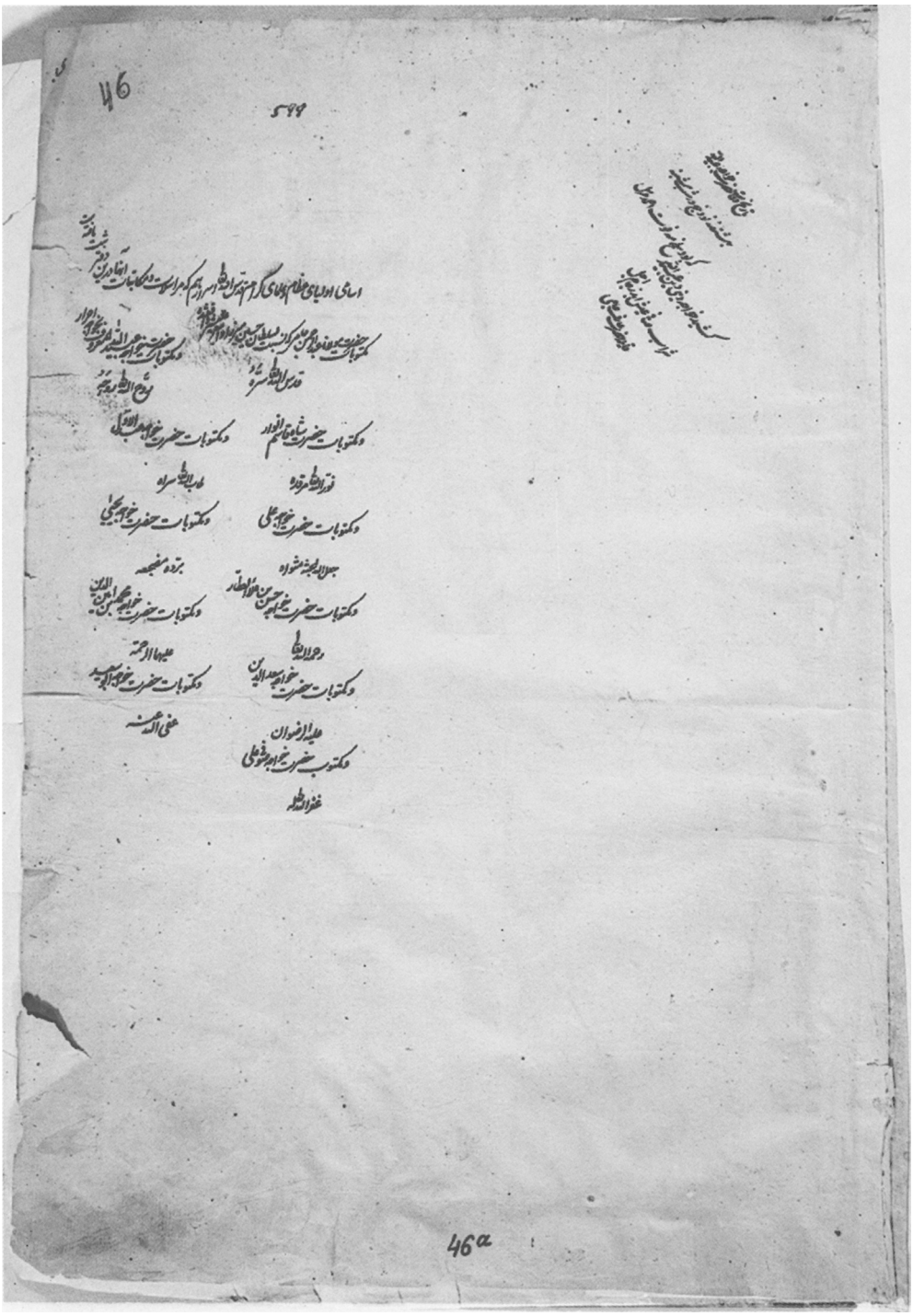

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Plate 1. Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār's Tombstone, Samarqand (1999); photograph by J. Gross.

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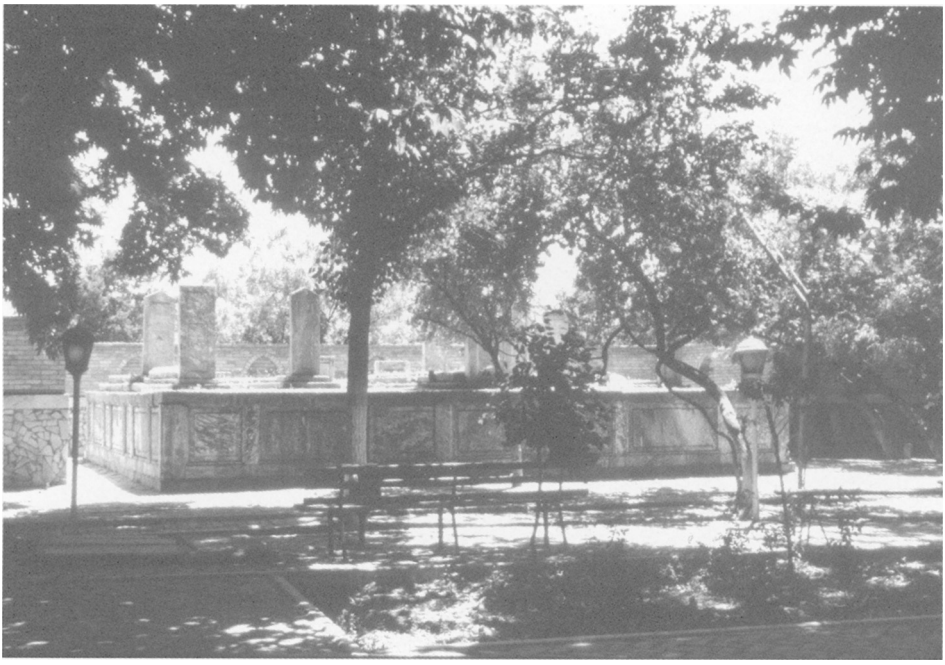

Plate 2. *Takht* at Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār's Shrine, Samarqand (1994); photograph by J. Gross.

Plate 3. Shrine of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband (1980), Bukhara; photograph by J. Gross.

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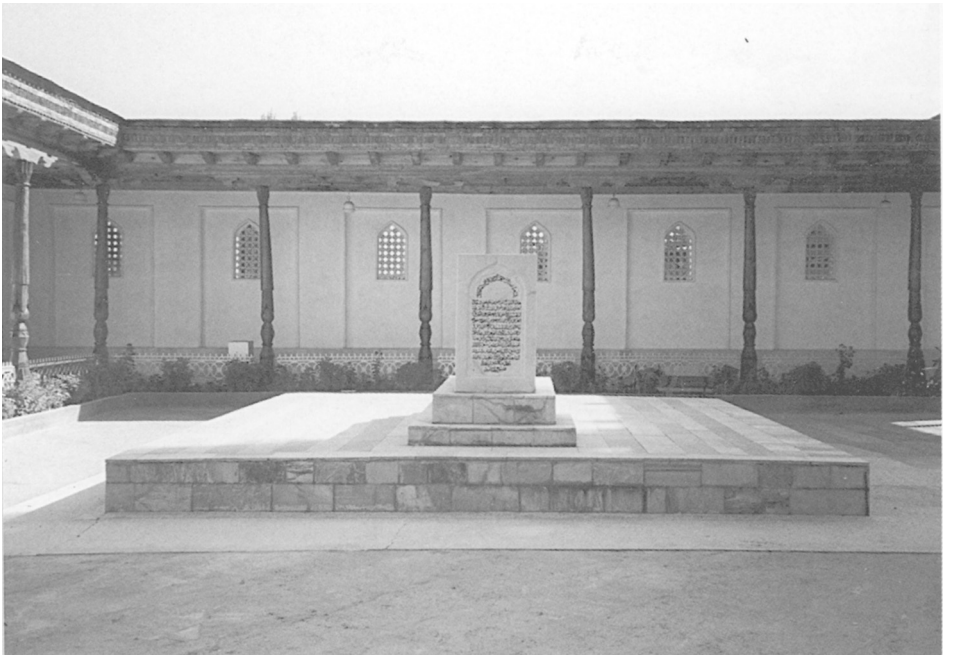

Plate 4. Yaʿqūb Charkhī's Tombstone (1999), Tajikistan; photograph by J. Gross.

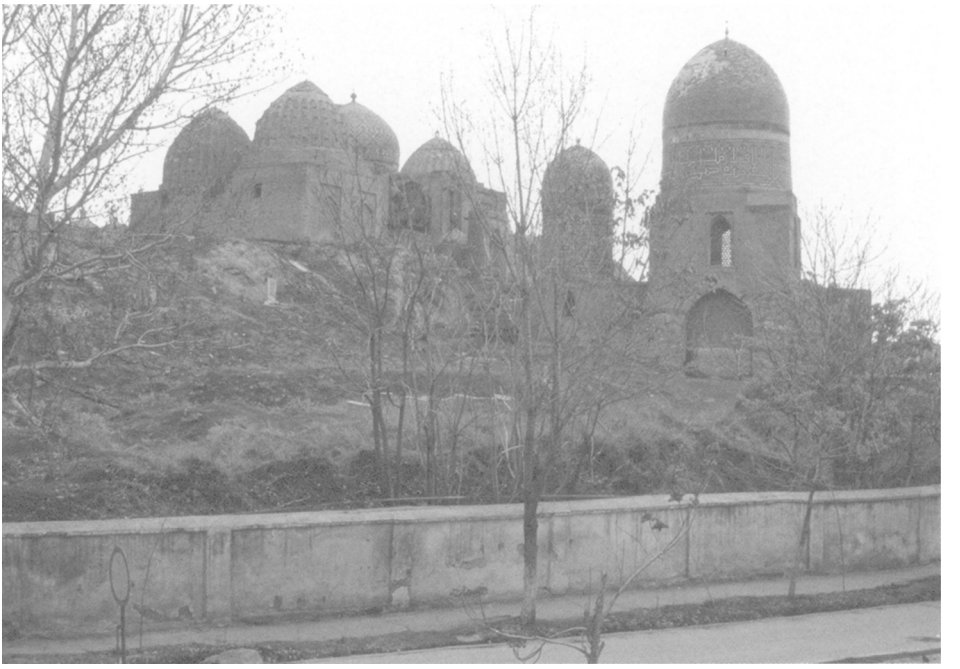

Plate 5. Shāh-i Zinda Shrine Complex, Samarqand (1980); photograph by J. Gross.

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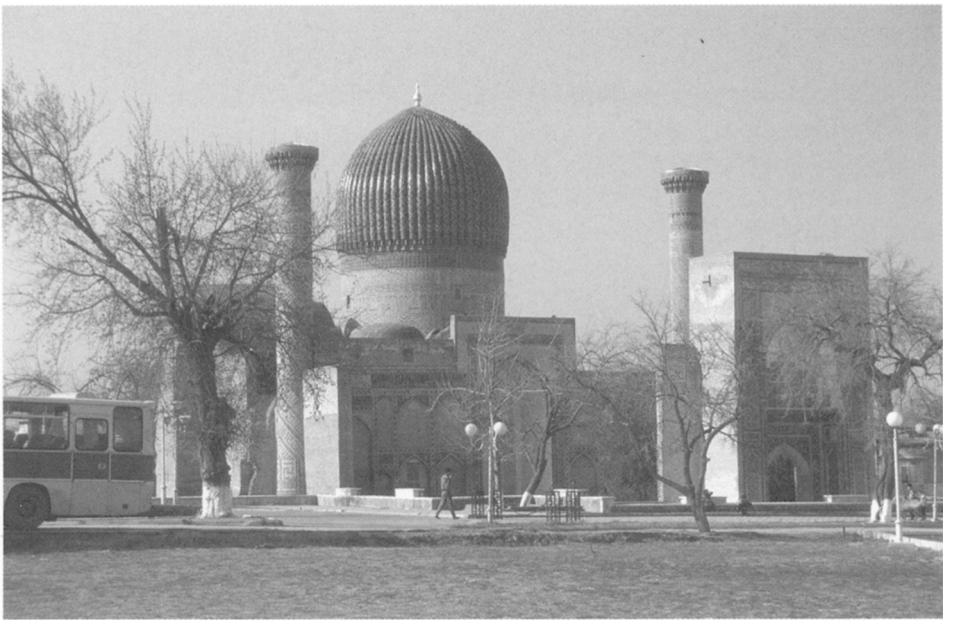

Plate 6. Gūr-i Amīr, Samarqand (1999); photograph by J. Gross.

Plate 7. Tomb of Qutham b. ʿAbbās, Shāh-i Zinda Shrine Complex, Samarqand (1994); photograph by J. Gross.

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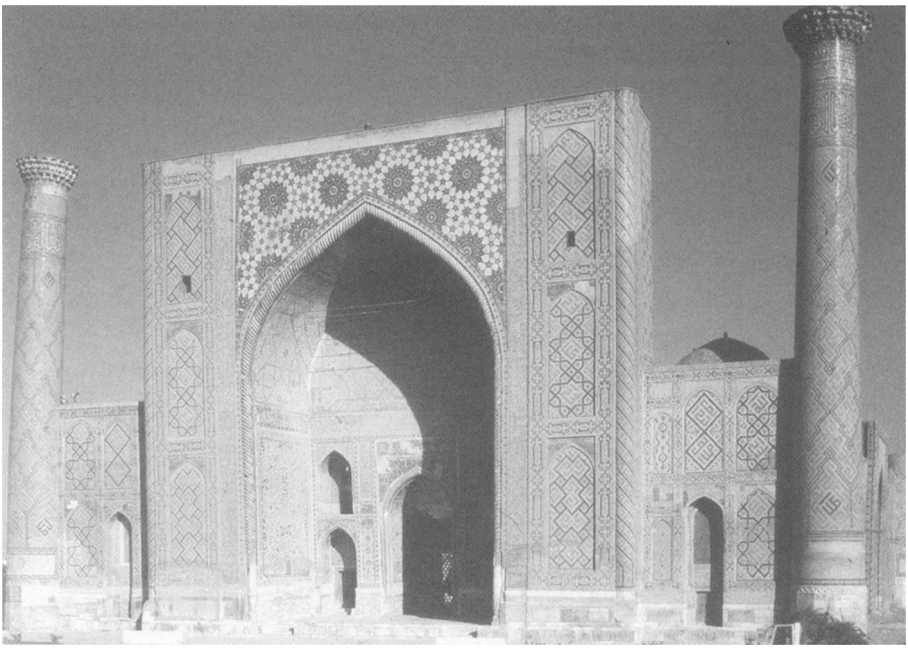

Plate 8. Madrasa of Ulugh-Beg ibn Shāh Rukh, Registan, Samarqand (1993); photograph by J. Gross.

Plate 9. View of the Friday Mosque in Herat (1977); photograph courtesy of D. Dwinell.

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Plate 10. Ruins of the mosque and madrasa of Gawhar Shād, Herat; photograph courtesy of T. Little.

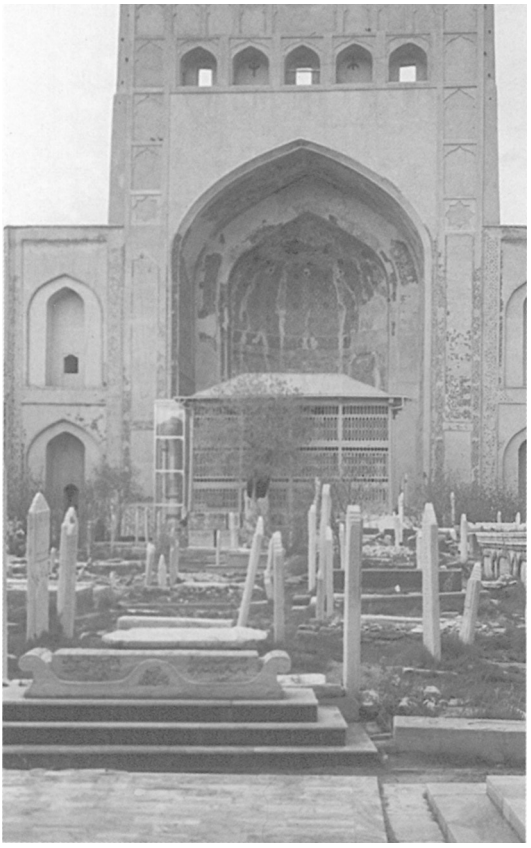

Plate 11. Gāzar-Gāh, Herat; photograph courtesy of T. Little.

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Plate 12. Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent; photograph by J. Gross.

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